CANADIAN THESES ON MICROFICHE

I.S.B.N.

THESES CANADIENNES SUR MICROFICHE

National Library of Canada
Collections Development Branch

Canadian Theses on
Microfiche Service

Ottawa, Canada
K1A 0N4

Bibliothèque nationale du Canada
Direction du développement des collections

Service des thèses canadiennes
sur microfiche

NOTICE

The quality of this microfiche is heavily dependent upon the quality of the original thesis submitted for microfilming. Every effort has been made to ensure the highest quality of reproduction possible.

If pages are missing, contact the university which granted the degree.

Some pages may have indistinct print especially if the original pages were typed with a poor typewriter ribbon or if the university sent us a poor photocopy.

Previously copyrighted materials (journal articles, published tests, etc.) are not filmed.

Reproduction in full or in part of this film is governed by the Canadian Copyright Act, R.S.C. 1970, c. C-30. Please read the authorization forms which accompany this thesis.

THIS DISSERTATION
HAS BEEN MICROFILMED
EXACTLY AS RECEIVED

AVIS

La qualité de cette microfiche dépend grandement de la qualité de la thèse soumise au microfilmage. Nous avons tout fait pour assurer une qualité supérieure de reproduction.

S'il manque des pages, veuillez communiquer avec l'université qui a conféré le grade.

La qualité d'impression de certaines pages peut laisser à désirer, surtout si les pages originales ont été dactylographiées à l'aide d'un ruban usé ou si l'université nous a fait parvenir une photocopie de mauvaise qualité.

Les documents qui font déjà l'objet d'un droit d'auteur (articles de revue, examens publiés, etc.) ne sont pas microfilmés.

La reproduction, même partielle, de ce microfilm est soumise à la Loi canadienne sur le droit d'auteur, SRC 1970, c. C-30. Veuillez prendre connaissance des formules d'autorisation qui accompagnent cette thèse.

LA THÈSE A ÉTÉ
MICROFILMÉE TELLE QUE
NOUS L'AVONS REÇUE

NL-339 (r. 82/08)

Canada

23

0-315-12339-7

National Library of Canada
Canadian Theses Division
Ottawa, Canada
K1A 0N4

Bibliothèque nationale du Canada
Division des thèses canadiennes

60250

PERMISSION TO MICROFILM — AUTORISATION DE MICROFILMER

- Please print or type — Écrire en lettres moulées ou dactylographier

Full Name of Author — Nom complet de l'auteur
Brian Duane Hohol

Date of Birth — Date de naissance March 1 /1956	Country of Birth — Lieu de naissance Canada

Permanent Address — Résidence fixe
9204- Ottewell Road
Edmonton, Alberta
T6B-2C7

Title of Thesis — Titre de la thèse
Folkloric Elements in Anatol' Svydnyc'kyj's Ljuboracki.

University — Université
Univ. of Alberta

Degree for which thesis was presented — Grade pour lequel cette thèse fut présentée
M.A

Year this degree conferred — Année d'obtention de ce grade Fall 1982	Name of Supervisor — Nom du directeur de thèse Dr. B. Medwidsky

Permission is hereby granted to the NATIONAL LIBRARY OF CANADA to microfilm this thesis and to lend or sell copies of the film.

The author reserves other publication rights, and neither the thesis nor extensive extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's written permission.

L'autorisation est, par la présente, accordée à la BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE DU CANADA de microfilmer cette thèse et de prêter ou de vendre des exemplaires du film.

L'auteur se réserve les autres droits de publication; ni la thèse ni de longs extraits de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans l'autorisation écrite de l'auteur.

Date October 15/1982	Signature Duane Hohol

NL-91 (4/77)

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

Folkloric Elements in Anatol' Svydnyc'kyj's *Ljuborac'ki*

by

© Demjan Hohol

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE

OF Master of Arts

in

Ukrainian Folklore

Department of Slavic and East European Studies

EDMONTON, ALBERTA

Fall 1982

Microfilming

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

RELEASE FORM

NAME OF AUTHOR Demjan Hohol'

TITLE OF THESIS Folkloric Elements in Anatol' Svydnyc'kyj's *Ljuborac'ki*

DEGREE FOR WHICH THESIS WAS PRESENTED Master of Arts

YEAR THIS DEGREE GRANTED Fall 1982

Permission is hereby granted to THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA LIBRARY to reproduce single copies of this thesis and to lend or sell such copies for private, scholarly or scientific research purposes only.

The author reserves other publication rights, and neither the thesis nor extensive extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's written permission.

(SIGNED) Demjan Hohol'

PERMANENT ADDRESS:

9204-Ottewell Road
Edmonton, Alberta
Canada

DATED October 15 1982

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a thesis entitled Folkloric Elements in Anatol' Svydnyc'kyj's *Ljuborac'ki* submitted by Demjan Hohol' in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

B Medwidsky

Supervisor

A. Hornjatkevyč

Peter A Rolland

Date 15/V/82

Abstract

Literary historians and critics have long recognized that Anatol' Patrykijovč Svydnyc'kyj, a realist writer, incorporated a significant amount of folklore into his novel *Ljuborac'ki: A Family Chronicle*. None have as yet produced a study devoted exclusively to folklore in this novel. The purpose of this thesis is to demonstrate how Svydnyc'kyj sought to develop the element of realism in his novel by the introduction of folklore. This study also purposes both to indicate the great value which literature such as *Ljuborac'ki* holds for ethnographers as a secondary source of folklore, and as well, to illustrate how specific types of folklore are employed in their natural context.

This study seeks to accomplish its purpose by studying some of the genres of folklore encountered most frequently in the novel. Chapter Two identifies and discusses the genres of name-calling, curses, insults and threats, which are areas of folklore infrequently studied in ethnographic research. In *Ljuborac'ki*, however, these items are quite common, and essential to the style and context of the novel. Chapter Three discusses "national stereotyping", a type of folk belief displaying preconceived ideas about nations and people that are transmitted from generation to generation. Chapter Four identifies and discusses various categories of proverbs in the novel. The model for classification is taken from Archer Taylor's classic paremiological work, *The Proverb and An Index to the Proverb*. Following Taylor's model, a list of some seven hundred proverbs identified in the novel is appended to the thesis. This appendix of only one major genre of folklore in the thesis is indicative of the extent to which folklore is evident in *Ljuborac'ki*. The conclusion notes the importance of these specific genres of folklore and suggests other areas in which similar research may be undertaken.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Although the completion of a masters thesis is only one step up the ladder of education and theosis, I feel compelled to express my gratitude to a number of key individuals and institutions that assisted me in various manners. Firstly and foremostly, I would like to thank my program and thesis supervisor Dr. Bohdan Medwidsky, for the kindness, encouragement and guidance which he has given me over the period of my studies at the University of Alberta. Secondly, I thank the Department of Slavic Languages and East European Studies for its many-faceted support of my study, but most especially for making available a graduate program of studies in Ukrainian folklore. This in itself is a very significant phenomenon in the history of Ukrainian-Canadians, and holds much potential for the future benefit of Ukrainian and Ukrainian-Canadian studies in Canada.

Thirdly, I am grateful to the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies for the generous financial support which it has afforded me during the course of my studies at the University of Alberta. Fourthly, I must thank the two persons who have assisted me more than anyone else to achieve my goals of education, my parents, Dr. and Mrs. Harry J. Hohol. To my sister Shannon, and brother Keenan, and to many friends, I owe a sincere thank you for their assistance and personal concern.

Table of Contents

Chapter Page

I. Introduction 1

II. Name-calling, Curses, Insults and Threats 16

III. National Stereotypes 34

IV. Folk Proverbs, Proverbial Expressions, and Proverbial Comparisons 67

V. Conclusion 105

VI. References 112

VII. Appendix 115

VITA 161

I. Introduction

It is probably in the year 1860 that a young university student named Anatolij Patrykijovyč Svydnyc'kyj began to write a novel suitable for publication in the fledgling journal *Osnova*. Completing the novel two years later, Anatolij (Anatol') dismissed his work as being unscholarly and of little worth in a country which he thought desperately needed serious ethnographic studies, rather than fictional literature.[1] The novel which he produced, entitled *Ljuborac'ki: A Family Chronicle*, was nonetheless recognized some twenty-odd years later by the famous Ivan Franko as being a novel of great value.[2] It has since been recognized as an important landmark in the history of Ukrainian literature.

Ljuborac'ki may be viewed from many different angles, including historical, political, literary, and ethnographic viewpoints. It is the latter viewpoint, ethnography, upon which the present study is based. The purpose of this thesis is, firstly, to illustrate the great amount of folklore which Svydnyc'kyj purposely included in his novel in order to develop genuineness and reality in his story. Secondly, this study will illustrate the value of *Ljuborac'ki* for ethnographic research of various Ukrainian folkloric genres.

---

[1] Anatol' P. Svydnyc'kyj. "Lyst A. P. Svydnyc'koho do P. S. Jefymenka," *Tvory*. (Kyjiv: Deržavne Vyd-vo Xudožnjoji Literatury, 1958), p. 489.

[2] Ivan Franko. "Anatol' Svydnyc'kyj," *Tvory v dvadcjaty tomax*, tom XVII. (Kyjiv: Deržlitvydav Ukrajiny, 1955), p. 199. (Henceforth: "Anatol' Svydnyc'kyj ...)

Ljuborac'ki exhibits so many individual samples of folklore in so many different genres, that the scope of this study will be limited primarily to "minor" folkloric genres, such as proverbs, curses and name-calling, and to a thematic genre of "national stereotyping."

In this introductory chapter, following a brief biography of Svydnyc'kyj and a summary of his literary activity, there will be a brief review of some of the major literary critical works done on the subject of Svydnyc'kyj's life and works, and on *Ljuborac'ki* in particular. Chapter Two of the study will identify and discuss a genre of folklore not often studied in the mainstream of ethnographic research. Name-calling, curses, insults and threats nonetheless are folkloric genres which Svydnyc'kyj employed in order to achieve the desired effects of reality and naturalness in the speech of his characters.

Chapter Three deals with the topic of national stereotyping, a sub-class of folk belief. Accordingly, this chapter examines items of folklore within the novel which allude to a transmission of attitudes of national or ethnic prejudice in the same manner that all folklore is passed from person to person. National stereotyping comprises a type of folklore essential to a full understanding of Svydnyc'kyj's purpose in writing *Ljuborac'ki*.

In Chapter Four, a discussion of the many forms and examples of proverbs found in the novel are discussed according to the classic paremiological model established by the emminent ethnographer Archer Taylor in his book *The Proverb and and Index to the Proverb*. An appendix consisting of all proverbs in *Ljuborac'ki* which are recognizable to the author of this study is included. In it are listed some seven hundred samples in a number of different categories of proverbs.

Anatol' Patrykijovyč Svydnyc'kyj was born in the village of Man'kivci, *povit* [county] Hajsyns'kyj, province of Podillja, Ukraine. He was born on September 13 (1), 1834, the second child of a village priest, Patrykij Jakovyč Svydnyc'kyj.[3] Anatol' had one older brother, named Jakiv, two younger brothers Isaj and Amos, and two younger sisters, Marija and Julijana. His mother, Motrja Lavrentijivna Svydnyc'ka, is seldom mentioned in any biographical literature.

Having been sufficiently educated by his parents to qualify for entrance to the Kruty Theological School, Anatol' was registered there in 1843 at the age of nine years. The purpose of this clerical school in Kruty was to prepare students for study in a seminary which would ultimately lead them to the priesthood. He studied here until his acceptance in 1851 into the Kamjanec' Theological Seminary, where he was expected by his father, in particular, to become a priest. However, Anatol' had other ideas, and in 1856 he followed the example of many other people leaving seminaries all over the Russian empire in favor of a more liberal and rigorous education at major universities.[4] Patrykij Svydnyc'kyj never forgave his Anatol' for not following his older brother into the priesthood. However, at the time Anatol' simply could no longer endure to study in a seminary for reasons which he aptly and vividly describes in *Ljuborac'ki*.

---

[3] M. Syvačenko. *Anatolij Svydnyc'kyj i zarodžennja social'noho romanu v ukrajins'kij literaturi*. (Kyjiv: Vyd-vo Akademiji Nauk U.R.S.R., 1962), p. 9. (Henceforth: *Anatolij Svydnyc'kyj ...*)

The entire period of his university study was very difficult, as Anatolij's financial situation made him continuously walk the thin line of a financial tightrope.[5] Father Patrykij earned such a small salary in the village that even had he wanted to help Anatol' obtain a university education, he would only have been able to assist his son minimally. Anatol' barely managed to support himself through three years of education at St. Volodymr's University in Kyjiv, and lived in a tiny, rat-infested room far from the university, literally starving himself. He supported himself partially by laboriously and tediously hand-copying documents for meagre wages.

It is at this time that Anatol' began his writing career, mainly from a desire and enthusiasm to write, but also in the hope of receiving some payment for his work from the newly established journal *Osnova*.[6] Unfortunately, the editors of *Osnova* neither paid him, nor published all the work which he had sent them. They did not publish even *Ljuborac'ki*. In December of 1859, Svydnyc'kyj was expelled from the university for failure to pay his tuition fees. Thus ended his dreams of achieving an academic career.

---

[4] ibid., p. 20

[5] ibid., pp. 66-9; Mykola Zerov. "Anatol' Svydnyc'kyj: joho postat' i tvory," *Do džerel* ... (State College, Penn.: Žyttja i Škola, 1967), p. 90. (Henceforth, "Anatol' Svydnyc'kyj ...)

In 1860, Svydnyc'kyj was accepted to teach Russian language in the provincial school of Myrhorod, province of Poltava. It is here that part one of *Ljuborac'ki* was likely written, as Anatolij continued to write and study, although it seemed difficult to do in a town without its own university.[7] Although he had become an important cultural leader in Myrhorod, in 1861 he nonetheless moved to the town of Kozelec', province of Černihiv, in order to take the higher paying job of a government liquor controller. He had hoped that this move might also grant him the opportunity for further education, but he soon became disenchanted with this job, as it allowed him virtually no time at all to study, research and write, despite its tediousness.[8] He married Olena Ivanivna Velyčkivs'ka in Kozelec' in 1863, but this marriage eventually fell apart, his wife apparently appreciating neither his desire to write, nor his passion for politics and folklore.[9] Saddened by his failures, Svydnyc'kyj became such an alcoholic by 1868, that he was fired from his job.

---

[6] A. P. Svydnyc'kyj. "Lyst A. P. Svydnyc'koho do redaktora žurnalu 'Osnova'," *Tvory*. (Kyjiv: Deržavne Vyd-vo Xudožnjoji Literatury, 1958), p. 485. (Henceforth, "... *Tvory*...)

[7] ibid., "Lyst A. P. Svydnyc'koho do P. S. Jefymenka," ..., p. 489.

[8] ibid., p. 492; M. Svyačenko. *Anatolij Svydnyc'kyj ...*, *p. 109*.

He searched in Kyjiv and Odessa for some time before finding work in Kyjiv as an assistant researcher at Kyjiv's Central Archives. The new job and the active community life of Kyjiv revived Svydnyckyj for some time, but he eventually slipped back under alcohol's influence, possibly from finding difficulty in supporting his wife and children on a meagre wage.[10] In his depression, he wrote *Xoč z mostu, ta j v vodu* ["Just off the bridge, and into the water"], a short story about a man contemplating suicide, and having obvious autobiographical overtones. Syvačenko speculates that "under the influence of his psychological illness induced by alcoholism," his father's malediction so bothered him that he returned to Kamjanec' in 1870, apparently to seek solace in the clerical life.[11] Zerov, on the other hand, writes simply that Svydnyc'kyj returned to Kamjanec' in order to beg for ordination and a parish, as a means of financial support.[12] Neither biographer, however, seems to know exactly why this final major atempt to overcome his problems was unsuccessful. In his autobiographical story *Tuda i obratno*, ["There and Back"], Svydnyc'kyj angrily refused to discuss this portion of his journey. He returned to Kyjiv, where he lived miserably until his death on July 18, 1871. His death received almost no attention from anyone,[13] despite the fact that his short stories had been published in the journal *Kijevljanin* since 1869. He was almost totally forgotten until Ivan Franko read *Ljuborac'ki* some twelve years after Svydnyc'kyj's death, and twenty-three years after it was written.[14]

---

[9] ibid., p. 116; Ivan Franko. "Anatol' Svydnyc'kyj" ..., p. 200; M. Zerov. "Anatol' Svydnyc'kyj ..., pp. 91-2.
[10] ibid., pp. 91-2.
[11] M. Syvačenko. *Anatol' Svydnyc'kyj* ..., p. 118; 121.
[12] M. Zerov. "Anatol' Svydnyc'kyj ..., p. 93.

Four of Anatol' Svydnyc'kyj's letters have been published. Two were sent to the editors of *Osnova*, and a third to V. S. Hnylosyrov in May of 1862, in which he mentions sending part one of *Ljuborac'ki* to *Osnova*. In the fourth letter, sent to P. S. Jefymenko in August of 1862, Svydnyc'kyj mentions that the editors of *Osnova* seemed pleased with part one of *Ljuborac'ki*, so he had begun to work on part two.

Svydnyc'kyj's youthful political passions are most adequately exhibited in his poetry and songs, written between 1856 and 1862. He composed little such literature, but some of it nonetheless became so widely known that the czarist police began to suppress it. Somehow, Svydnyc'kyj himself managed to escape the attention of the police, but in 1863 a number of his friends were arrested. One of the items used against them in the case was possession of copies of the song *V poli dolja stojala* ["In the field fate stood"], originally composed and written by Svydnyc'kyj. In

---

[13] ibid., p. 93; M. Syvačenko. *Anatol' Svydnyc'kyj* ..., p. 120.
[14] Ivan Franko. "Anatol' Svydnyc'kyj" ..., p. 199.

Canada many years later, Ostap Nyžankivs'kyj published Svydnyc'kyj's *Vže bil'še lit dvisti* ["It's already more than two hundred years"] in his *Ukrainian-Sokil Songbook.*[15]

Svydnyc'kyj's greatest love in his literary endeavours was ethnography. His first study, *Velykden' u podoljan* [Easter among Podilljans] was readily published by *Osnova*'s editors in 1861. Not limiting the study only to aspects of folklore related to Easter Sunday, Svydnyc'kyj related this holy day to the spring cycle in particular, and provided a panoramic overview of Podilljan Ukrainian folk life. Svydnyc'kyj exhibited his belief that any particular aspect of Ukrainian culture may only be understood in relation to the whole culture. He did not simply record information about such varied items as women's hair styles, beliefs in witches, folk narratives about Christ, men's and women's spring games, and Christmas carols, but also analyzed and drew conclusions about the evolution and meaning of specific aspects of the culture. *Velykden' u podoljan* is as interesting and vital a work today, as it was when the editors of *Osnova* first saw it over one hundred and twenty years ago.

Svydnyc'kyj's other two ethnographic works were received with somewhat less enthusiasm by *Osnova*'s editors. The contexts of *Zloj dux* [Evil Spirit] and *Vid'my, čarivnyci*

---

[15] Ostap Nyžankivs'kyj. *Ukrajins'ko-sokil's'kyj spivanyk: z notamy*. Winnipeg: Rus'ka Knyharnja, 19, pp. 77-8. The *Sokil*, or "Falcon" organization was a sports-orientated youth association, which spread from Bohemia to Halyčyna in 1909.

ta opyri ... [Witches, Sorcerers and Vampires] seemed to many people at this time to reflect an unfavourable side of the Ukrainian people. Svydnyc'kyj, on the other hand, was greatly interested in the folk beliefs and practices which had developed as a result of the gradual merging of Christianity with pagan beliefs. In *Zloj dux*, Svydnyc'kyj pointed out that Ukrainians distinguish between *nečysti syly* [unclean forces], such as witches, sorcerers and vampires, and *zli duxy* [evil spirits], examples of which are demons and the devil. In *Zloj dux*, Svydnyc'kyj also stated a principle which held true for all his future writing in Russian. He felt that in translating from Ukrainian into Russian, nuances of meaning would be lost. Therefore, he stated that he would not translate certain words, phrases and sayings.

In *Vid'my, čarivnyci, ta opyri* ..., Svydnyc'kyj describes the scene of folktelling, as well as expounding upon folk beliefs about supernatural beings. He discusses in detail the sorts of curses and evil which witches and sorcerers were believed to inflict upon people, but also describes means by which to counteract these curses and charms. Svydnyc'kyj relates a number of folk tales about these beings, making this essay very entertaining, as well as interesting and educational.

Ukrainian literary criticism is presently aware of twenty of Svydnyc'kyj's short stories. These vary considerably in both quality and content, and most of them are written in Russian. For ethnographic interest relating to the purpose of the present study, the story "Havrus' and Katrusja" provides the reader with some scenes that are very similar to those found in *Ljuborac'ki*. For example, the practice of toasting while remembering the Christian Faith is found in it, albeit slightly different from the similar toasting scene in *Ljuborac'ki*.

The story *Dva uprjamyx*, ["Two Obstinate People"], also bears great similarity to a certain aspect of *Ljuborac'ki*. It describes the cruelty of a teacher towards a certain obstinate student, thereby giving an autobiographical overtone to the story. Aspects of school folklore are also described, although not to the extent that they are in *Ljuborac'ki*.

One of the earliest biographers and critics of Svydnyc'kyj's work was Ivan Franko, himself one of the major figures in the history of Ukrainian literature. Through Franko's efforts, *Ljuborac'ki* was first published in 1886, approximately twenty-five years after it was originally written, and fifteen years after Svydnyc'kyj's death. In the foreword to this edition, published in the journal *Zorja*, Franko observed that almost nothing was known of Svydnyc'kyj's life. Franko appealed to *Zorja*'s readers to send him any information possible about Svydnyc'kyj, for he recognized *Ljuborac'ki* as "one of the best contemporary efforts of all" in the social novel in Ukrainian literature.[16]

In answer to Franko's plea, several of Svydnyc'kyj's friends and relatives began to piece together the events of his life. In 1866, *Zorja* published bibliographic articles by Borys Poznans'kyj, V. Antonovyč and Ja. Černihovec'. In 1901, O. Konys'kyj added valuable information to the growing store of knowledge about Svydnyc'kyj in an article preceding the third edition of *Ljuborac'ki*, published by *Vik* publishers.

Mykola Zerov was the next major critic after Franko to focus attention upon Svydnyc'kyj. He wrote two articles on Svydnyc'kyj which preceded the *Knyhospilka* editions of *Ljuborac'ki* in 1927, and *Opovidannja* [Stories] in 1928. The latter essay was reprinted in the United States in 1967.[17] In this essay, Zerov gives an extensive biography of Svydnyc'kyj, and also provides the first major literary critique and analysis of *Ljuborac'ki*. Zerov was of the opinion that certain parts of *Ljuborac'ki* seemed too hastily written, and that had they been revised, the novel would have been considerably improved.[18] In this same article, Zerov also reviewed Svydnyc'kyj's short stories, seventeen of which he was aware at the time. Zerov laments about the sadness of the fact that Svydnyc'kyj was forced by his contemporary circumstances to write so much in Russian. He concludes that had Svydnyc'kyj lived on into the more favourable political climate of the 1870's, he might have overcome the effects of his alcoholism and provincialism in government policy.[19]

---

[16] Ivan Franko. "Anatol' Svydnyc'kyj," ..., pp. 199-200.
[17] Mykola Zerov. "Anatol' Svydnyc'kyj ..., pp. 85-116.
[18] ibid., p. 102.

A number of lesser articles on Svydnyc'kyj followed Zerov's, written by O. Doroškevyč, I. Romančenko, V. Hnatovs'kyj, and writers of basic literary textbooks for schools. In the early 1950's two new major critics of Svydnyc'kyj began to emerge. The first of these was V. Herasymenko, who synthesized the information of previous literary historians and critics with original research of his own. Herasymenko did much to add to an understanding of Svydnyc'kyj's personal life, and its consequent reflection in his writing.

The second, most recent critic of Svydnyc'kyj is Mykola Je. Syvačenko, who has made significant contributions relative to most aspects of Svydnyc'kyj's life and works. Syvačenko, too, has synthesized all previous work with his own original research. It is Syvačenko who found three short stories presumed lost since the demise of *Osnova*.[20]

Syvačenko has added slightly to the study of an aspect which he himself notes is little researched in Svydnyc'kyj's writings, ie., folklore. The various literary historians and critics who have written about Svydnyc'kyj commonly mention the incidence of folklore in his works, but do not dwell upon this quality of his work. Syvačenko's primary assessment of the role of folklore in Svydnyc'kyj's literary style is that Svydnyc'kyj viewed folklore as a means of achieving realism.[21] Svydnyc'kyj indeed desired to view and reflect people as they were, rather than ascribing to a more romantic view of folklore among the folk. Reacting to criticism of his efforts in writing *Vid'my, čarivnyci ta opyri* ..., Svydnyc'kyj wrote, "I write not for the white-handed people, but for science, so whether I want to or not, I should present everything as it has been related to me ..."[22]

---

[19] ibid., p. 116.

[20] M. Syvačenko. "Novoznajdenni opovidannja A. P. Svydnyc'koho i jix fol'klorni džerela," *Narodna tvorčist' ta etnohrafija*, I, 1972, pp. 26-47.

Both Syvačenko and Herasymenko seem burdened by having to reflect official Soviet cultural policies of "Socialist Realism" in their assessments of Svydnyc'kyj's works. Their attention is focused primarily upon relating Svydnyc'kyj to the so-called *riznočynci* (Russian *raznočincy*), and purportedly irreconciliably revolutionary in outlook. Svyačenko predictably criticizes Mykola Zerov's opinions, since Zerov has only been partially rehabilitated in the Soviet Union, for his "nationalist" and "reactionary" transgressions against the state. Whereas other critics seem to be able to see certain deficiencies in *Ljuborac'ki*, Syvačenko can only praise it. Svydnyc'kyj seems to have done no wrong in Syvačenko's eyes. For whatever reason, no major studies of Svydnyc'kyj and his work appears to have been published in Soviet Ukraine since Syvačenko's last article in 1974, which itself was a republication of an earlier 1972 article.[23]

---

[21] M. Syvačenko. *Anatolij Svydnyc'kyj* ..., p. 408.
[22] Svydnyc'kyj, Anatol' "Vid'my, čarivnyci ta opyri ..., *Tvory*, p. 395.

Before continuing into the main body of this thesis, a few words must first be written to clarify some points of style in this study. Firstly, all words transliterated from Ukrainian are printed in italics in order to avoid confusion. Secondly, certain titles not conveniently translated into English remain in transliteration. Therefore, Father Hervasij Ljuborac'kyj is sometimes referred to as *panotec'*, literally translatable as "mister father", but communicating a great deal of respect for a priest. Similarly, the Ukrainian name for the wife of a priest finds no equivalent in the English language. Therefore, *panotec'* Hervasij's wife is referred to in this study as *panimatka*, meaning "Mrs. mommy." Thirdly, Ukrainian is a language in which the use of diminutives is highly developed. Therefore, some translations of Ukraïnian words into English may sound silly in English, but the addition of a simple suffix can add a tremendous amount of meaning to a word in Ukrainian. Fourthly, when a certain word transliterated in Ukrainian is being discussed in the text, it may have several similar, yet different forms. This is due in most instances to the ability of the Ukrainian language to add a large variety of prefixes and suffixes to a root word, in order to alter the meaning or nuance of a word. In Chapters Two and Three, the use of suffixes and prefixes are particularly important in understanding the subtleties of the forms of folklore discussed.

---

[23] Syvačenko, M. "Novoznajdenni opovidannja A. P. Svydnyc'koho ...", *Narodna tvorčist' ta etnohrafija*, 1972, p. 26-47; Reprinted in: Syvačenko, M. Je. *Literaturoznavči ta fol'klorystyčni rozvidky*. (Kyjiv: Naukova Dumka, 1974), pp. 147-82.

II. Name-calling, Curses, Insults and Threats

In trying to capture the true flavour of the folk speech of Podillja a province of south-western Ukraine, Svydnyc'kyj did not shy away from the more "colourful" expressions and words that help give a language much of its character. Svydnyc'kyj did not refrain from using either name-calling or cursing, nor insulting or threatening remarks in the conversations and thoughts of the characters in *Ljuborac'ki*. They are like real people, expressing their frustrations and anger in a manner passed down from generation to generation, particular to Podilljan-Ukrainian culture.

Some Ukrainians often pride themselves on speaking a language almost totally free of "filthy" dirty words and phrases, in comparison to languages like English and Russian. *Ljuborac'ki* bears witness to such an opinion. While being full of colourful name-calling and expressions, the novel nonetheless depicts a rather "clean" language accompanied by a dearth of words, terms and expressions which might be considered gross in nature. From a Canadian point of view, the dirtiest expressions and names in the book are those involving *suky*, or "bitches", and their sons or children, *suči syny* and *suči dity*. On the other hand, Svydnyc'kyj also gives numerous examples of tender or sympathetic name-calling. Name-calling, curses and insults of an ethnic nature will not be considered in this chapter, but rather in the next one.

The genres of folklore to be discussed in this chapter seem to have begun to be studied only in the very recent past. Whereas the ethnographic literature on proverbs, for instance, is vast and varied, curses, insults, threats and name-calling have comparatively little ethnographic literature written about them. Articles and studies of these genres are few and far between, due to what Gary H. Gossen criticizes as "the tendency among many folklorists and anthropologists to deal with 'standard narrative genres' (particularly myth, legend and folktales) in preference to the (apparently) less substantial 'minor genres'."[1] Although they are seemingly not as glamorous as the so-called "major folkloric genres," in *Ljuborac'ki*, at least, the minor genres of threats, insults, curses and name-calling are much more abundant than any myths or legends. These particular genres are used by almost every character in the book, and are common to people of all ages.

The name-calling in *Ljuborac'ki* may be loosely grouped into categories of human, animate, and inanimate objects or concepts. Human and animal names are those used most frequently in an insulting manner in the novel. The adjective *durnyj*, meaning stupid or foolish, and derivatives of its root *durn-*, is the human appellation most commonly used by the characters in *Ljuborac'ki*:

---

[1] Gary H. Gossen. "Chamula Genres of Verbal Behaviour," *Toward New Perspectives in Folklore*. Edited by Américo Paredes and Richard Bauman. (Austin, Texas: American Folklore Society, 1972), p. 146.

> "Now there's a *duren'* [idiot] for you." (63)
> "'*Durak* [fool]', he says, 'you went to class, instead of hiding.'" (114)
> "And why do they, *drvni* [idiots], dare to raise their unworthy voice against me?" (127)
> "Stop it, *durnyj* [stupid]!" (170)
> "You're a *durnoslov*, not a *bohoslov* ..." [a play on the word *bohoslov*, meaning "theologian", accomplished by substituting the root *durn-*, for *boh-*, to achieve the meaning of an "idiotologian."]

The use of adjectives and nouns describing undesirable human characteristics is widely varied, with very few repetitions. No one such appellation is used so often as to be recognized as being particularly common either in Podilljan folk speech or Svydnyc'kyj's own, personal habit. Some words are nastier than others, for example, *kat*, or "hangman", as opposed to *ledaščo*, a "lazy fellow". A word actually describing a nice personality characteristic can also be used cynically, in order to communicate the opposite meaning:

> "The priest sighed and thought to himself, "And you're so nice, oh yeah!" (236)
> "You'll only bring shame upon yourself ... because you'll just be worse than some *baba* [silly old woman]." (205)
> "Him, the *prisna duša* [uninteresting soul]!" (26)
> "This is such a *ledaščo* [lazy fellow] ..." (227)
> "Why are you sitting, *posydil'nyce* [sitter]? Why don't you do some work, *nerobitnyce* [idler]?" (187)
> "You saw [that], you old *korga* [hag]?" (206)
> "What a *temnyj* [dark, stupid] people!" (228)
> "What kind of pastors! ... *Nasmišnyky* [buffoons], not pastors ..." (228)
> "... he's such a *zaznajko* [know-it-all] ..." (177)
> "*Vražoho syna* [of an accursed son] is this hole [in the road.]." (219)
> "You're *durnyj* [stupid]" that one said, "As if I don't know you; that you're a *svitovyj brexun* [reknowned liar]?" (133)
> "... Antosjo ... was such a *dykar* [uncultured, wild man] ..." (177)
> "... and by the time he started philosophy, he already had [received] from other *dykariv* [uncultured, wild men]

> tobacco, and sausages and different goodies for teaching them to dance." (177)
> "... he called him a *kat* [hangman] and a *hycel'* [one hired to kill stray dogs] ..." (123)
> "And you walk around like a *hycel'*." (127)

Much of the name-calling in *Ljuborac'ki* refers to people as being some sort of animal. Domesticated animals are those most abundant, and none more so than the *sobaka*, "dog", and *suka*, "bitch", in particular:

> "That *sobaka* [dog] ..." (226)
> "We polished his *sobačyj* [doggish] face ..." (162)
> "He's a drunkard, the *sučyj syn* [son of a bitch]!" (134)
> " ... with that *sučyj syn* ..." (133)
> "... I'll be a *sučyj syn*, before I'll go!" (137)
> "A! A bitch's son you are! ..." (162)
> "A, may you have a bitch's son!" (189)
> "... You're all ... bitches' children, all of you!" (164)
> "... I could be a better friend for you than that *sučoho syna brexuna* [son of a bitch of a liar]!" (133)

The names of domesticated animals are used more frequently than those of wild animals in *Ljuborac'ki*. The pig's name is taken in vain almost as frequently as that of the dog:

> "Scram, *svynota* [swinish kind]!" (216)
> "'I do not differentiate between the two of you,' says Antosjo, 'one is a *svyndja* [pig], and the other is a *svyndja*.'
> 'Then you're a pig yourself! Why are you complaining that I'm a pig! Simply a pig, and wild, dull-tusked ...'
> 'And you, *porosjonko* [suckling pig], are laughing? I'll give it to you like this! - And he shook his fist." (127)
> "... and they - a frightened herd, and not of mute sheep, but of pigs." (228)

As *panimatka*, Fr. Hervasij's wife, is yelling at her daughters to get them to work, she calls Masja a *korova*, or "cow":

> "Why are you standing like candles? And you, *korova*, why are you standing?" (33)

The names of wild animals, too, are employed by the characters of *Ljuborac'ki*. Most are meant to be objectionable to the persons at which they are directed, with the exception of the appellation *siromaxa*, and its variant *siroma*, meaning a pitiful, wretched person. This name also implies the loneliness of a solitary grey wolf, and is often applied in the Ukrainian language to describe the plight of the orphan. In the first of the following quotations, the word is used to describe a lone thistle on the steppe. It is intended by Svydnyc'kyj, however, to symbolize Antosjo's future orphaning:

> "... the thistle stood, an orphan ... just me, just me left, a *siromaxa*." (38)
> "He was startled, the *siroma*, having heard this shout ..." (163)
> "At this he returned, just spitting from his heart, that such a *zvirok* [small, wild beast] escaped from under his nose." (192)
> "A, - he says, - *kabančyku* [my sweet little wild boar] So that's what you're getting at" (170)
> "... they were calling him a *vedmid'* [bear]; so he became determined to totally learn all kinds of dances and everything, that was necessary, in order not to be called a *vedmid'*." (177)

Only one name of an insect is used in an insulting manner in *Ljuborac'ki*. This insect is the *bloxa*, or flea. This name adequately communicates the loathing which Antosjo, and Svydnyc'kyj himself, felt for the members of the clergy that ran and staffed the consistory of the Russian Orthodox church in Kamjanec'-Podil's'kyj:

> "No *bloxa konsystons'ka* [consistory flea] came out of here sober." (100)
> "What can *konsystors'ki bloxy* do without the archbishop [on their side]?" (205)

Of all the names of birds used in *Ljuborac'ki*, not one type of bird is used in a blatantly insulting manner. *Čornohuz*, or "stork", is the bird's name used most derisively in the novel, but only in order to tease a friend. Most often, birds' names are used as appellations of endearment for both men and women:

> "Oh! My *holubočko* [sweet little female dove]!" (195)
> And she is here, a grey *horlycja* [turtle dove] ..." (151)
> "... she can't stop thinking, 'What is my *filosof* [official name for a third-year seminarian] doing there, my bright *sokil* [falcon]? Is he alive and well, or is he ill?'" (186)

These same names of birds are used to tease one's friends and acquaintances by *Ljuborac'ki*'s characters. They are used ironically, as if aware of the actual contrast between a human being and such a bird. In this context, therefore, even being called a *čornohuz* cannot be too terrible:

> "And what do you, *čornohuze*, want?" (100)
> "Ah! Miller-*holubčyku* [little male dove] Come here!" (100)
> "Oh really, *zazul'ko* [little female cuckoo] of mine?" (161)
> "Poor *horobec'* [sparrow]! ... if only I could fly so high!" (171)
> "All right, *horobčyku* [little sparrow], rewrite this little thing for me ..." (195)
> "My *holubočko* [dear little female dove], " he addresses the vodka, setting it on the table, "My *zazul'ko* [little female cuckoo]! Because of you I nearly flew into a trap." (176)

A fair number of names of inanimate objects and concepts are used to insult the characters of *Ljuborac'ki*, too. They are not as frequently used as the names of human or animal characteristics, but they are nonetheless apparent, and equally insulting:

> "He had made such a *maškara* [monster] of himself ..." (220)
>
> "Csss! You're my *svityk* [bright little lamp]! What are you doing?" (188)
>
> "And you, *smittja* [garbage], why are you here? ..." (229)
>
> "... I sent to a musician in order to borrow a violin. They brought the fiddle (?) [*pryhudnycja*] here, as my deceased father would have said ..." (233)
>
> "Do you know what Kovyns'kyj is? ... *Zaraza* [a plague]!" (114)
>
> "You're my *osuda* [damnation], you're my *neščastja* [misfortune] - not a daughter ..." (95)

The Ukrainian culture also uses name-calling in a nice, endearing fashion, as does possibly every language in the world. Svydnyc'kyj exhibits this in human, animate, inanimate, and even supernatural categories:

> "The *neborak* [poor, dear fellow] grew happier ..." (134)
>
> "Oh! *Holubočko moja* [my dear little female dove]! *Serden'ko moje* [my little heart]!" (152)
>
> "I'll respect you like an eye in a head, *zeročko moja jasna* [my bright little star]!" (228)
>
> "- What are you doing? - says the girl.
> \- Nothing, my anhel [angel], nothing!" (185)

Some of the appellations used in a nasty manner refer to evil supernatural beings. *Cort*, or "little demon" is the name used most often, but a witch and a greater demon are also employed to express one's ill will towards another person:

> "What the *čort* [little demon]? All are good, it seems, but one's a *dyjavol* [greater demon]." (161)
>
> "This is a *čort*, not a child." (119)
>
> "So what kind of *čort* wants to walk about the residences now?" (212)
>
> "Speak, old *vid'mo* [witch]." (206)
>
> "Perhaps I'll turn out to be such a *jaha* [hag], that

I'll cut off my servants' fingers." (49)

Having given an idea of the extent to which name-calling is found in *Ljuborac'ki*, the attention of this chapter may now be turned towards curses, insults and threats. Charles Winick describes a curse as being, "The words used to invoke forces outside man to cause trouble."[2] The definition in Funk and Wagnalls *Standard Dictionary of Folklore* further indicates that a curse "... invokes a power - divine, demonic or magical - against which the person cursed has no defense, unless he in some manner propitiates the power or brings to bear against it a stronger power."[3] The curses in *Ljuborac'ki*, however, do not mention by which power or force some unfortunate event should beset a person, being or object. This may be indicative of what Funk and Wagnalls describes as "a loss of belief in the efficacy of magic," so that a "curse becomes either blasphemy - the fruitless and irreverent invocation of the gods - or a meaningless ritual ..."[4]

The characters and narrator of *Ljuborac'ki* may or may not ascribe special meaning or belief to the curses uttered and exclaimed. The narrator does not indicate to the reader whether or not someone's curse has actually been fulfilled, as the curses in *Ljuborac'ki* do not appear to be magical, nor does he indicate the actual intent of the person uttering a curse. Therefore, one gets the impression that a character who had wished evil upon someone else thus, would be surprised if the evil were actually fulfilled. Whereas for some people the curse may be meant wholeheartedly, for others such curses may simply be a formulaic, traditional manner of indicating one's anger against a person, rather than calling the person a name. The curses are varied and vivid in content, but they all follow the basic formulas, "May ____ happen to ____", or "May (he/she) ____":

---

[2] Charles Winick. *Dictionary of Anthropology*. (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1956), p. 148.

[3] *Funk and Wagnalls Standard Dictionary of Folklore, Mythology and Legend*. Maria Leach, editor. (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1972 edition), p. 271.

[4] ibid., p. 271.

> "May everything evil and unbaptized happen to him!" (144)
> "May things be difficult for whoever is unhappy!" (201)
> "May a *pič* [oven] eat you!" (8)[3]
> "May his children know what kind of a *cjacja* [darling] their father was ..." (162)
> "... may he ride to a broken head!" (94)
> "May he go mad!" (145)
> "May he *skrutyt'sja* [be twisted, to the point of death]." (144)

The most common curse in *Ljuborac'ki* calls one or more demons, *čorty*, upon a person. Even in this instance, no specific power, force, or figure is invoked to accomplish this task. Once again, the evil is simply wished upon the person:

> "A *čort* take him!" (178); (217); (231)
> "May seven *čorty* be sent to him, and all [manner of] misfortune ..." (94)
> "May a hundred *čorty* be sent to him!" (115)

Another sort of demon, this one of pre-Christian antiquity, is also commonly wished upon others in the Ukrainian culture, even in recent times. A specific name for the type of demonological figure called a *domovyk*, or "god of the home", is *cur*. *Cur* is a tiny, personal being which is difficult to distinguish as either a god or a demon. He seems to have the qualities of both. He was believed to be the protector of the family and its possessions from evil and misfortune.[6] *Cur* would be summoned by a person in need or in danger, and sent to overcome the opposing evil or force. It is difficult to ascertain from the context of *Ljuborac'ki* whether Ukrainian peasants still actually believed in the power of *cur*, or whether this curse was simply repeated as a traditional, formulaic curse devoid of actual meaning. Svydnyc'kyj himself was very interested in the study of demonology and dual faith in the Ukrainian culture, as may be evidenced in his ethnographic works, *Zloj dux*, or *"Evil Spirit"*, and *Vid'my, čarivnyci i opyri*, or *"Witches, Enchanters and Vampires"*. Examples from the text of *Ljuborac'ki* wishing *cur* upon others are as follows:

---

[3] The 1958 Soviet edition of *Ljuborac'ki* substitutes *pip*, the derogatory name for a priest, for *pič*.

> "May *cur* and all misfortune beset him!" (17)
> "... and as for misfortune ... may *cur* beset it! ..." (62)
> "So *cur* take it, - says the sexton, - maybe that's - the Holy Spirit be with us! ..." (74)
> "*Vijsja-vijsja* [run about]! *Cur* take you!" (83)
> "... so may *cur* beset him!" (129)
> "*Cur* take him with such schools!" (128)

Traditional insults abound in *Ljuborac'ki*, and are more varied in formula than curses. Many appear to be commonly used, recognizable proverbial expressions, while others sound proverbial, yet are probably thought up only in the context of the particular conversation. Traditional insults also have a degree of humour to them, as their intent is to ridicule some quality, fault, or possession of an adversary:

---

[6] Metropolyt Ilarion. *Doxrystyjans'ki viruvannja ukrajins'koho narodu* (Vinnipeh: Tovarystvo "Volyn'", 1965), p. 125.

> "Antosjo rummaged in his tobacco pouch, and then pulled out a whole pack of bills - all in tens ... and gave one to the fellow who had asked. He took it, and began to brag.
> - You see, - he says to the other [student] - and so mine flowers, but yours rots." (132-3)
>
> "- *Ux*! - he says, - How I've gotten scorched! And so much dust!
> - Like on a pig's thigh, - replied Masja." (127)
>
> "Oh, and they used to say that in the last times a daughter will turn against her mother - aren't you?
> - The mill has already begun grinding! - says Masja ..." (199)
>
> "- My mother is in the grave, but I'm on your forehead ...
> - To your own father.
> - To yours in [his] beard, so that he won't die of hunger." (206)
>
> "Why don't you lie even more!
> - I'm not of your family ... that I would lie." (193)
>
> "And where did you appear from?" (39)
>
> "You've eaten me to my live kidneys." (17)
>
> "Shoemaker, - he says, - know your own shoemaking, and don't mix into tailoring!" (168)
>
> "When you don't know the ways of the world, then don't mix into them!" (87)
>
> "... you eat a *čort* [little demon], [if you think] that you'll be in Solod'ky [as a priest]! ..." (180)

A frequently recurring proverbial expression which employs the metaphor of a window for world view, is used to chide persons lacking formal Polish schooling and outlook, such as Father Hervasij and his *panimatka*:

> "Father Hervasij learned by the psalter and turned out to be a father who was simple, humane, felt himself to be Ukrainian, and held to the old ways; and he didn't know any more of the world than was in his window." (18)

> "If you haven't seen anything more than a *pič* [oven] and a *kocjuba* [oven-rake], then you think that the whole world is only what is in the window!" (88)

A type of insult equally frequent in *Ljuborac'ki* as those which are recognizable proverbial expressions, are similar in form, yet do not seem to be proverbial. These insults are understandable within the context of the particular conversation, but would lose much of their impact outside of it:

> "I've driven out one *svoloč* [knave], and [now] another is pretending ...
> - You yourself are a *svoloč*, replied Antosjo. You *volocjuha* [bum], *prybluda* [intruder]! Why did a *čortjaka* [great, malicious demon] bring you here! Why have you pushed yourself in amongst *zavoloky* [intruders], amongst *svoloč* [rabble]? Go where there aren't *svoloč*!" (180-1)

> "You, *holubčyku* [little male dove], have become so abominable, that a female saint from heaven won't love you, although she doesn't even need a boy ...
> - For that reason, - says Robysyns'kyj, - I'm a boy, so that people wouldn't take notice of [my] beauty." (221)

> "- If only some man, even if he were lame and blind, would take you from before my eyes! ...
> - My Antosjo will take me, - thinks the girl ..." (187)
> "*Desjatnyky* [assistant bailiffs] grabbed Javtux by the hands ...
> - Don't be so happy, uncles, - says Javtux. - An unfortunate hour has befallen me and your children, and it may not pass you by, either.
> - That's something else, - they replied. - Whether they take us or our children [to the army], the community will remember us with a kind word; but we'll give you up, sluggard, and serve a *moleben'* [church service]." (54)

Many of the insults in *Ljuborac'ki*, like in real life, occur as retorts, or smart-alecky remarks, to a person's sincere questions. The remarks are usually quite juvenile, but serve the purpose nonetheless of frustrating and angering the questioner:

> "- What's this? What's this for? - began Javtux.
> - You'll find out later!
> - Perhaps, to the barracks? - asked Javtux sadly.
> - Well, not into a lord's bakery!
> - And into the recruits?
> - Well, not to lick a plate!" (54)

> "Why, daughter, are you doing this? - says the mother.
> - I'm taking the pillows, - replied Masja, and goes about her task.
> - And you're leaving me without a pillow?
> - So won't you place your fist under your head?
> - What sort are you, daughter! Did you sleep on your fist in your mother's home, that you're now laying her out so?
> - *Ehe*! That's how you wanted it! - says Masja. - I'm something different, but you're a *popadja* [degrading name for a priest's wife]. And you'll sleep on a fist, just so long as you have time for the pigs." (202-3)

> "- Isn't it you that took it, daughter? - she asks Teklja.
> - No, *mamočko* [dear, sweet mama], by God no!
> - Well, it's not the saints that crawled down from heaven and stole the money, - the old woman retorted, - someone took it!" (136)

Some of the insults in *Ljuborac'ki* are communicated by the gesture called "giving a *dulja*", or "pear", but known as a "fig" in English. A *dulja* is made by pushing the thumb between one's index and middle fingers, while clenching the hand in a fist. This gesture achieves the same effect as displaying one's middle finger to someone in Canada:

> "- Give me some, - says Antosjo.
> - Here! - *Hava* ["crow" - a certain boy's nickname] says, and gave [Antosjo] a *dulja*." (108)

> "Antosjo ... bowed to the teacher and, when he turned away, gave a *dulja* to the *cenzor* [a student chosen by the teacher to supervise his classmates]." (123)

> "Here, this is for you! - the old woman gave him a second *dulja* ... and once again the old gal pokes out a

> *dulja*, and pulls back her hand, as if playing '*lapky*' [a game of hand-slapping], and Tymoxa is waving his arms, trying to get to her hand ..." (206)

Insults do not always have to be intentionally offensive. They may also be exchanged between friends as they tease each other in good humour:

> "They didn't ask Antosjo where he had celebrated [Christmas holy days], because everyone knew it was at his uncle's; but they ask: What did you see in the village?
> - What did I see? ... I saw geese, chickens, turkeys; I saw calves, lambs, - it's said, like a village.
> - And you didn't see a donkey? - asks the bassist.
> - No, I didn't - says Ljuborac'kyj.
> - *Oho*! Perhaps you didn't comb yourself?
> - Why wouldn't I! I combed myself.
> - In the mirror?
> - Absolutely - replied Antosjo and only then figured out where the questions were heading: Ah! - he says, - *kabančyku* [small wild boar]! That's where you're firing! ... And he turned the bassist over on the bed and began to whirl his finger in the bassist's armpit.
> - *Aj*! *Aj*! - yells the bassist, laughing, and kicking his feet ... What, little brother ... is it my fault, that Christ rode around on you?" (170)

Threats, as well as insults, may be intended in a teasing manner, usually evoking laughter, rather than anger or fear:

> "Give me a knife, - he shouted, - we'll slaughter this boar ..." (170)
> "You're lucky ... - Antosjo began to speak - ... because I would have given it to you! Tomorrow I'd have been calling good people over for stew." (170)

Not all threats, however, are meant in jest between friends, and the characters in *Ljuborac'ki* are not always friendly toward each other. They often strike out at each other in anger and frustration. A preliminary stage to physical violence or punishment of some sort, however, is the traditional threat. The threat warns an aggressor or adversary that one is willing to take some form or action to defend something, if the other(s) either persists or resists. A. E. Green collected samples of threats traditionally used by adults against their children. One of the categories which he identified involved the threat of using some external force against the person being threatened, such as a child's father, or a magical figure like the "boogeyman."[7] In *Ljuborac'ki*, some of the threats involve a third party in the altercation. In the first two examples below, the third party may be simply any other people, while in the third, *panimatka* tries to use her son, Antosjo, as a threatening figure:

> "Choose what you want: either say good-bye and don't make any further visits, or I'll tell everything." (229)
>
> "Kill [me]! Kill [me]! They'll lock [you] up in Siberian exile! ..." (207)
>
> "You're blustering, so long as my Antosjo is away, but let him arrive, and then he'll temper you!" (206)

In one of *panimatka's* many biblical proverbs, she relates her husband's untimely death to a threat which she ascribes to Holy Scripture:

> "If only I could live through just one more year ... But that's God's will!
> And *panimatka* listens and thinks: this is just what's written in Holy Scripture: when you're evil, then I'll restrain you [possibly, I will shorten your life]." (76)

A second category of threats occurs in the first person singular. In this instance, the individual is not afraid to threaten the other person himself:

---

[7] A. E. Green. "Some Thoughts on Threatening Children," *Folklore Studies in Honour of Herbert Halpert: A Festschrift*. (St. John's, Newfoundland: Memorial Univ., 1980), p. 187.

> "Wag your tongue as much as you want, but don't let your hands wander!" (161)
>
> "You'll laugh, and regret it!" (206)
>
> "- Get out of [this] house!
> - How can you dare to drive my daughter out of my house? - shouted Ljuborac'ka, while crying and mixing in with the violence.
> - And I'll drive you out!
> - You don't dare to ... Help!" (207)
>
> "Marry her, and you'll receive a parish, but [if you] don't - as long as I'm here, you won't put on a *rjasa* [priest's outer cassock]." (231)
>
> "- And you, garbage, why are you here? - he immediately whispered into his ear.
> - And you think that here, like in the seminary, [you can] take command? ... That's enough! There your [will] played, but here - we'll measure eachother's strength
> - What's for you to measure? If I give it [to you], then in size you'll [actually] measure the whole yard [ie. I'll flatten you], just don't shake [running away] from here!
> - Let's give it a try!
> - So what's to try here! This tale's without shame - there's where the door is, or I'll shove you out! Choose what you want: either say good-bye and don't make any further visits, or I'll tell everything.
> - [Go ahead and] tell, - retorted Robusyns'kyj, but he himself [took his] hat in his fist and rushed out beyond the threshold." (229)
>
> "Make sure you give me the knife; because if you trick me, then I'll never tell [you] anything, even if you plead and burst to pieces." (41)
>
> "- Give [it to me], because I'll hit you!
> - Tell me, then I'll give it!
> - Eh! - began Antosjo with anger and jumped up with his fists [ready], - give it, because I'll clean you like this." (41-2)

Some threats are uttered while the antagonist is absent, so that they might actually be considered as a sort of vow or oath:

> "I'll so wash his eyes, that he won't be found even with a candle!" (205)

> "... then I am not myself, if I don't pluck out his red *capka* [goat's beard] hair by hair." (205)

> "I'd sprinkle salt on, too, so that he'd know how to sweeten his tongue [ie. tattle-tell]; and I'd rub [it] with dust, too, - and he shows with his hands how he'd rub, chanting rapidly, - that's how, that's how I'd rub! ..." (163)

Pronouncing an oath should tend to increase the tension within the speaker, who might then feel compelled to follow through with his oath. Charles Winick describes an oath as being "worded as a curse which would take effect if the speaker did not fulfill certain conditions."[1] Therefore, like a curse, a higher power or external force would be called upon in order to punish the oath taker for failing to accomplish his self-imposed task. However, as with curses in *Ljuborac'ki*, Svydnyc'kyj imparts no special, magical meaning to oaths. Repeating traditional oaths may indeed serve the function of releasing pent-up frustration or anger, like punching a pillow or a punching bag. In the case of the following example, Antosjo makes a vow which is very commonly heard in many cultures, that of being struck by lightning, should he fail to fulfill his desire to become a good priest:

> "Very melancholy, he stopped before his house and leaned with his shoulder against the wall, thinking: - "Oh, what *popy* [derogatory name for priests]! Oh, of what benefit are they to a spiritual flock! Will I possibly be the same? Oh, no! May a thunderbolt strike me, if I forgive that *kacalap* [a very derogatory name for a Russian]." (181)

---

[1] Charles Winick. *Dictionary of Anthropology*. (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1956), p. 148.

This last quotation touches upon a very important part of the folklore of *Ljuborac'ki* that of the folk view of national stereotypes, and the accompanying name-calling, curses and insults which stem from them. This is the subject of the next chapter.

III. National Stereotypes

People all over the world tend to make generalizations about individual people, and also about groups of people. This is easily observable in Canada, especially as new waves of immigrants enter the country, such as Pakistanis and Vietnamese refugees of recent years. In a relatively short time, a general public opinion is formed about them. In the case of the Pakistanis, a category of ethnic jokes was quickly spawned and almost totally displaced the "Ukrainian" jokes which had reigned supreme in western Canada for many years. Jokes have not been formulated yet about the Vietnamese, but feelings of fear and distrust amongst the populace are growing as a result of several shockingly violent crimes perpetrated by individuals of this beleaguered national group.

In *Ljuborac'ki*, the existence of very specific public assessments of national character and identity are made especially lucid by Svydnyc'kyj. The reasons for such judgements ultimately emerge from political and socio-economic causes, which have the effect of developing a national feeling for or against another people. This national feeling is, in turn, passed on by parents to their children, from generation to generation. Broom and Selznick write that "... complex and deeply internalized attitudes may be communicated to children at a very early age".[1] Hence, this national feeling against another national, racial, or ethnic group, called prejudice, may be considered folklore, being a type of folk belief. All the machinery of oral transmission is the same as, for instance, teaching a child a folk belief about vampires. A conscious act of denying equality of treatment to persons or groups of people, would be termed an act of discrimination.[2] Prejudice is simply an opinion.

As was the case in the preceding chapter on name-calling, curses, insults and threats, so too, is there very little ethnographic literature about national stereotyping. Articles on the phenomenon of the transfer of prejudice form person to person, and generation to generation, are difficult to find. Ethnographic research has very obviously dealt with other, more "easily" recognizable areas of folklore, and has left the areas of prejudice and discrimination to psychology, sociology and perhaps anthropology. Even Gordon W. Allport, an esteemed leader in social psychology does not clearly indicate the means by which prejudice is transferred from one person to another, although he identifies and analyzes the phenomenon itself very prudently.[3]

---

[1] Leonard Broom and Philip Selznick. *Sociology: A Text With Adapted Readings*. 3rd ed., 1963 (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1955), p. 503.
[2] Gordon Allport. *The Nature of Prejudice*. (Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Publ., 1966, 4th ed.), p. 51.

The intent of this chapter is therefore to illustrate, by using examples from *Ljuborac'ki*, the premise that prejudice or national stereotyping constitutes a form of folklore. In the case of this novel, Svydnyc'kyj had every intention of making his readers aware of these common sentiments. It was his desire to so educate his readers, and thereby disperse some of the confusion about the true nature of these inter-ethnic relationships. Svydnyc'kyj himself wrote, "If only we had different knowledge - but this way, it's no wonder, because what can a blind man see? Jump, because there's a ditch! And he'll jump right into an oak-tree head-first ..."[4] Such quotations illustrate Svydnyc'kyj's endeavour to employ items of folklore which he hoped his reader might already be familiar with. Then, in the context of the narrative, he relates the content of the specific instance to the more general problem at hand stereotyping. That folklore of this nature existed at this time may be demonstrated by quoting proverbs form the collections of M. Nomys and V. Plavjuk:

> "A Jew asks God for wisdom beforehand, but a *xlop* [Ukrainian peasant] asks afterwards." [i.e. Jews typically are wise enough to foresee trouble, but uneducated Ukrainian peasants usually lament their lack of foresight].[5]

---

[3] ibid.

[4] Anatol' Svydnyc'kyj. *Ljuborac'ki*. (London: Ukrainian Publishers Ltd., 1956), p. 18.

[5] V. S. Plavjuk. *Prypovidky, abo ukrajins'ko-narodnja filosofija*. (Edmonton: V. S. Plavjuk, 1946), p. 121. See also pp. 121-2; 193.

> "A *ljax* [Ukrainian derogatory term for Poles] is good only when he is sleeping, for when he awakens, there's trouble."[‘]

The discussion in this chapter will begin by identifying the nature of the Ukrainian-Jewish relationship as described by Svydnyc'kyj. Following this will be discussion about a number of casual references made in the novel to such groups as Asians, Czechs, Moldavians and Turks. A major portion of the chapter discusses the importance of certain characters in the novel who personify various ethnic relationships. In this light, Masja will be discussed as a symbol of the Polish-Ukrainian relationship. Tymoxa exhibits a "typical" Russian personality. Father Jakym's personality depicts the confused attitudes of Ukrainians towards Russians. The tragic hero of the novel, Antosjo, embodies the growing awareness of the true nature of the Polish-Ukrainian and Russian-Ukrainian relationships that Svydnyc'kyj attempts to teach his readers.

Then, examples of inter-ethnic attitudes depicted in such folkloric genres as name-calling, insults, threats, proverbs and songs will be cited and discussed. This portion of the chapter will begin with Polish folklore about Ukrainians, and Ukrainian folklore about Poles. Then, Russian folklore about Ukrainians will be identified, and followed by Ukrainian folklore about Russians.

[‘] M. Nomys. *Ukrains'ki prykazky, prysliv"ja y take ynše.* (S.-Peterburg: v drukarnjax Tyblena y Komp. y Kuliša, 1864), p. 19. See also pp. 14-21.

Finally, both negative and positive attitudes, and folkloric references to the Ukrainian clergy of the Ukrainian Orthodox rite will be examined, before bringing the chapter to its conclusion. In its scope, this chapter comprises a sub-class of folk belief, whereas Chapters Two and Four of the thesis are concerned with specific formulaic or structured genres.

In the case of the Jewish people who lived and worked in Ukraine, they tended to occupy the postion of "middlemen", distributing goods between the upper and lower classes. Jews were granted permission by the ruling authorities to operate businesses, which usually were tavern-keeping, alcohol-producing, store-keeping, loan-sharking or otherwise speculatory in nature. Most often, this had the unfortunate effect of worsening the plight of the already nationally and economically oppressed lowest class, the Ukrainian indigents. Therefore, the Jewish people earned their own particular brand of disrespect (and sometimes respect) from the national groups with which they came into contact.

In *Ljuborac'ki*, Svydnyc'kyj did not attempt to portray fully the relationships of Jews and Ukrainians in Podillja. He seems, rather, to assume that the reader is already aware of this, and therefore from time to time simply refers to them in various manners. A very sharp reference to the involvement of Jews in encouraging Ukrainians to drink away their profits is made in an autobiographical comment by the author, Svydnyc'kyj:

> "And gold in the church as much as drips ... And looking at that gold, I thought with my young mind: how this gold seems to flow, to drip - that's how bloody sweat dripped from those people who earned it under the system of serfdom! ... And I thanked God that human bloody sweat went at least to His glory, and not to Jews - tavern-keepers - for their '*cycyly*' [Jewish name for tavern, used derogatorily by Ukrainians]." (24)

A number of lesser references to Jews are made in the novel, such as geographic and socio-economic descriptions, or similes and metaphors using Jews as the object of comparison:

> "... let's look at Kruty.
> Kruty itself consists of two parishes: downtown and another one, where there aren't any Jews ... 'Misto' [downtown] - is the very forehead of the town; in the exact center is four-sided town square, where the market is held. Each side of this square props up a row of the very best houses, all Jewish. In these rows there is not a single baptized soul, except a Jew's maid, or someone spending the night ... here are the very richest merchants, here are the stores, and everything ... Beyond the main rows, the further they are from the center, - are homes ever smaller, Jews ever poorer, and ever greater unkemptness.
> If you walk and walk, then you'll enter an empty place, where there isn't a single house; and then again begin buildings, which are in a different style: where a yard stands, where it's as simple as a village house. This, already, is where the baptized people are." (23)

> "... and she convinced a *molodycja* [young, married woman] to bring water, like some Jewish woman." (179)

> "Because if you write poorly, or even if it's nicely [done], but you make a mistake, or make a *żyd* [ink-spot or Jew], then say good-bye already ..." (120)

The last reference to Jews made in the novel leaves the reader with a very strong impression of the disdain that Jews held for their Ukrainian neighbors and customers. They dishonour the Christian dead, let alone the living:

> "Kovyns'kyj buried her [*panimatka*] there near the tavern by the road, and for a long time the Jews poured dishwater on her grave, and the children - one would run up to it, stamp with one foot, spit, and return, until finally they just plowed it over." (235)

A number of unelaborated references are about various other nationalities in *Ljuborac'ki*. Svydnyc'kyj seems to assume that his reader knows that Ukrainians view an *azijat*, "Asian", as being typically primitive and crude; that Moldavians are known as quick runners, or as cowards - the meaning is unclear; some Czechs as good musicians; and Turks as worshipping the moon:

> "Man is for a woman, like a tree is for a bird, earth for grass, water for a fish: in order that there would be someplace to live; give seed, so that there would be someone to live for ... Will I turn out, my Haločka, to be such an *azijat*?" (228)
> "Well, *Havo* [a certain boy's nickname - Crow], - says Karman Ivanovyč, - you run, like no Moldavian will run; give it a try!" (103)
> "... and the musicians playing there were of their own village, because the Czechs for whom they had sent as much as twenty *versty* [measurement of distance almost equaling a mile, about 3500 feet], had not yet arrived." (149)
> "[Fr. Hervasij] ... believed in his *pan* [Polish landowner and lord], like a Turk [believes] in the moon, and went to him like going home." (9)
> "And just why do you believe in him, like a Turk [believes] in the moon? Does he, perchance, know the most direct way to heaven?" (46)

In *Ljuborac'ki*, Svydnyc'kyj presents a complex picture of the Ukrainian-Polish relationship in the nineteenth century, attesting to the very severe, deep-rooted problem of Poland's suppression of and discrimination against the Ukrainian nation. He very clearly states his opinion, as a Ukrainian, of this people which had dominated areas of western Ukraine since 1385, the year of the first

Polish-Lithuanian union:

> "We have forgotten ourselves and we renounce our own language, but *ljaxy*[7] [a name used derogatorily by Ukrainians, instead of *poljaky*] - even of the sort they are in Podillja: neither ours, nor yours, - do not shun their own customs, are not ashamed that they are *ljaxy* and not someone else. And that's nothing: they think, that our right-bank Ukraine is Poland, and have set it up, so that *ljadščyna* [Polack-land] has totally gained the upper hand there. If only we had different knowledge! ..." (18)
> "We have forgotten ourselves, but *ljaxy* have not forgotten what we were ... *Zaporožžja* [a free Ukrainian military state of kozaks][8] sat like a bone in the throats of the *pany* [Polish land-owning, upper-class gentry] ..." (52)
> "*Ljaxy* are a flattering people, knowing from which side to approach, and will butter you up so that even if you have a hundred heads, you still won't figure out what they are cooking up. And *panotec'* [Fr. Hervasij] sincerely believed, that Rosolyns'kyj was not contriving, as he praised. And that one did not know any bounds in his praising." (72)

The entire panorama of the Polish-Ukrainian struggle is depicted in the character of Masja, who is forced by her father, Father Hervasij, to attend a private Polish girls' school away from home in the village of Ternivka. Fr. Hervasij had been beguiled by the *pan* of his own village, Solod'ky, to send her there in order that she become worldly, educated, and Polish, rather than Ukrainian, which was considered primitive and uncultured by the Poles. He wanted her to become "like human daughters", for he had been convinced by Rosolyns'kyj that Ukrainians were something less than human:

---

[7] In the Polish culture, "Lech" is a popular proper name, and the name of the mythological founder of the Polish nation.

[8] For the purpose of this thesis, the Ukrainian word *kozak* will be transliterated thus, rather than translating it into the commonly accepted "cossack." This is done in order to more closely approximate the actual sound of the word in Ukrainian.

> "- I think, - began the *pan* further, - that your daughter cannot speak Polish?
> - Well, no, - says *panotec'*.
> - I'm not surprised, - said the *pan*, - you go nowhere, you see nothing of what is happening in the world, just like your grandparents, - and you're raising your daughter, like they raised their children. The world is not now like it used to be: now, if you can't speak Polish, then where [can you go]? Neither to trade, nor visit ... Do you want your daughter to grow grey in maidenhood? Whom will God punish for their misfortune? Unhurriedly adding to this, he snared *panotec'*, like a spider snares a fly." (19)
>
> "And *panotec'* again thanked him for his benevolence and went home believing strongly, that all of his ancestors were *xamstvo* [rude, boorish people], *durni* [stupid]: they didn't know well-being, and weren't worthy of a good word; and a *popivna* [priest's daughter] if she cannot speak Polish, is not worthy even to be shone on by the sun." (20)
>
> "And to tell the truth, it wasn't learning that he wished for his daughter, nor education; rather, he wanted his daughter to be like human daughters, like a true *panjanka* [daughter of a *pan*]: whether she learns or not, so long as she was at a teacher's place, and *po-ljac'ky cven'kala* [*cven'katy*, meaning "to twitter or chatter" is here used to ridicule the sound of Polish.], because with *xams'ka, xlops'ka* [boorish] language, said Rosolyns'kyj, you could not push yourself ahead anywhere now. That is, that's what the world has become ..." (44)

Although she at first had not wanted to stay in a school where she would be ridiculed, Masja gradually adjusts, changes her attitudes, and becomes a perfect *nedoljaška*. *Nedoljaška*, which literally means "not fully Polack", is a Ukrainian word used derogatorily to describe such a woman as Masja, who begins to ridicule and insult her Ukrainian family, heritage and culture. She finally tries to forsake her family and past altogether by marrying a petty Polish gentleman. In the end, however, she reaps the sad rewards of her ill-doing, a victim nonetheless of the intense inter-ethnic conflict:

> "Here it's all *ljaxivky* [Polack girls], - replied Masja, - they're laughing at me. I don't want to be here! - she says, and wipes her eyes, because she is embarrassed, and tears are flowing by themselves, as if there were full lakes in a reservoir there." (65)
>
> "It was difficult for Masja among the *ljaxivky* and *nedoljašky*: they all ridiculed her for being a *xlopka* [Ukrainian peasant woman]." (66)
>
> "... Masja learned to speak in Polish, to pray in Catholic ... to hold contemptuously her father - *pip*, mother - *popadja* [derogatory names for an Orthodox priest and his wife], *xlopiv*, *xlop* language and *xlop* church. Not much time had passed: three months and a little bit, but Masja had changed so, that one wouldn't recognize her already!" (69)
>
> "She associated all the time only with *ljaxy* and with more *ljaxy*. She travelled about the Catholic churches and convents, and didn't show even her nose at her own church - except, perhaps, at Christmas or Easter, and at that, with a Polish book in her hands, and not to pray, but to show off. She dressed like a peacock and, as they say, pulled the last drop of blood from her mother, and put it all toward wares ... And she never took up cold water [a proverbial phrase meaning 'to never do any work']. The last drops of sweat are pouring from her mother, but the daughter says, 'That's why you are a *popadja*.'
> - What will you be, if you're laughing at a *popadja*?
> - I'd choose to be a bar-keeper, but not a *popadja* for anything.
> - Ej, daughter! You will cry because of your stupid mind!
> - Don't you cry, and don't you worry about me! If you haven't seen more than a *pič* [oven] and a *kocjuba* [oven rake], then you think that the [whole] world is [what you see] in the window. I've already grown above all this!" (87-8)
>
> "I knew them both [Masja and her husband]; and neither of them is around: he died, and she slit her throat - but more because of hunger, because she didn't have enough [money] for a piece of bread. And yet her children tortured her: they called her a *xapoknyš* [*knyš* - snatcher - a name used to deride the children of Orthodox priests. A *knyš* is a type of dumpling, and this name is often used by Poles to describe Ukrainians] all

> the time. So she couldn't stand it, and slit her throat ... on a Sunday ..." (234)

This final, tragic note in Masja's unfortunate life was alluded to earlier in the book, as Masja was first leaving home to go to the Polish school of Pečeržyns'ka, herself a *nedoljaška*. At this time, Masja had known only Ukrainian peasants, and her closest friends were her family's own servants. They, however, already knew the sort of education that the naive Masja would receive. They express their feelings in songs, one of which is a common motif of mourning some tragic event on a Sunday morning:

> "And so we sent off our girlfriend, as if to the graveyard, - said the girls, returning to the village. - Now she'll not return to us, she's lost; she'll take on the airs of a *pan*, and grow cruel, so it's just the same as if she'd died. That cursed ill-learning! And they began to sing sad songs: how the mother sent her daughter to a foreign land, and the sun sparkles on a Sunday morning." (51)

The Ukrainian-Russian relationship throughout history has been every bit as unfortunate for Ukrainians as the Polish-Ukrainian struggle, if not more violent. Whereas the Poles are known by the characters in *Ljuborac'ki* for their cunningness in business and politics, the Russians are known simply for their brutality and cruelty. No precise statement to this effect is made by Svydnyc'kyj in the novel, but the point is made in certain narrative statements, in the personalities of the characters, and the nature of the relationship. The reader's first glimpse of the theology graduate, *končyvšyj*, Tymoxa Petropavlovs'kyj illustrates the Ukrainian sentiment about Russians vividly, and all the more so because it is young children that ridicule this Russian stranger in their village:

> "And through the village a *kacap* [Ukrainian derogatory name for a Russian] walks, point for point a *korobejnyk* [Russian tinker] ... Children came running into a group, and began to shout: '*Kacalapy* [a play on words, combining *kacap* and the verb 'to catch'], *kosolapy* ['long hair-grabber], *haspedovi dity* [a fiend's children]! They gather rags, and dress their wives; they buy hog's bristles, and dress their children!'' And others again: 'Unshaven, bearded, they irritate the dogs by the house! In the bushes they sit, at the people the look; a hundred souls - a hundred *kopijek* [One kopeck equals approximately one penny]; *Hu-hu*! *Tjuha* [a cry to drive away a beast, or to express disgust at someone]! *Kacapjuha*!
>
> He remained silent, so the children grew braver and came to within ten feet of him. One, who was more daring began:
>
> - Hey, *ruskij*! [the name 'Russian' in Russian] We know why you have red lining in [your] shirts!
>
> - And why? - shouted another [child].
>
> - So he'd have something to wipe his knife on, when he butchers someone. - And they all roared with laughter: the *kacap* began to hurl lumps of dirt [at them]. Then they began to shout even worse; at his beard, at his *lyčaky* [bast shoes], and at everything - for everything they found proverbs. They led him far along the village like this." (142)

The verses and appellations which the Podilljan children shout at this Russian-looking stranger indicate that they have learned such abusive folkloric items. Whether the children learned this from their parents or from their peers is difficult to ascertain, but this scene from *Ljuborac'ki* does indicate the degree to which the Russian people had been stereotyped as an enemy by Ukrainians in Podillja. Iona and Peter Opie's study of the folklore of

---

' In his dictionary, C. H. Andrusyshen defines a *ščetynyk* as an "ambulating peddlar (trading small wares for bristles and other country products)." *Ukrainian-English Dictionary*. (Saskatoon: University of Saskatchewan, 1957), p. 1154.

British school-children lends some insight to the role which children play in *Ljuborac'ki*:

> "No matter how uncouth schoolchildren may outwardly appear, they remain tradition's warmest friends. Like the savage, they are respecters, even venerators, of custom; and in their self-contained community their basic lore and language seems scarcely to alter from generation to generation."[10]

Tymoxa represents possibly all the worst aspects of the Russian people in the eyes of the people of Podillja. He looks like a typical, loathsome Russian *korobejnyk*, or peddler. He is rude, coarse, boorish, ill-tempered, cruel and violent. He has nothing but contempt and disdain for the Ukrainian people and culture, calling them *xaxly*, which is the name insultingly used by Russians to refer to Ukrainians. Unlike the Poles, he is not even cunning enough to insult Ukrainians either through trickery or simply behind their backs, but does so openly:

> "-And *svatannja*? [Ukrainian customs surrounding engagement for marriage]
> - What sort of *svatan'je*? We'll be married and engaged.
> - But we must put on a *vesillja* [wedding].
> - I'll be happy with the young girl! So that's your *vesjel'je*.
> - Well, then we at least have to hire some musicians and invite people; we don't live in the wilderness!
> -We together are not people enough? And music is the devil's invention - we'll get by without it. When we get drunk, then we'll play a song; and you will jump around. You, it must be, are not a bad jumper? I've heard, that in your parts people *pljašut* [dance] well. You'll show me your *xaxlackuju pljasku*." (147-8)

> "... he's point for point a *korobejnyk*: on his crown it's [his hair] parted, and the nape of his neck is shaven and in a taffeta *ormjak* [Russ. - a jacket belted

---

[10] Iona and Peter Opie. *The Lore and Language of Schoolchildren*. (London: Oxford University Press, 1959, Seventh ed. 1976); p. 2.

> under the waist], in bast shoes; across his shoulder, instead of a basket, hangs a small trunk; his beard is only peach fuzz, and in his hands is a staff far longer than he himself." (142)

Father Jakym, who does his best to help his sister, *panimatka* Ljuborac'ka, becomes the priest in Solod'ky after Father Hervasij's death. He epitomizes the confusion of Ukrainians as to how to interact with the Russians, who had dominated Podillja since 1793, the time of the second partition of Poland between Russia, Prussia and Austria. On the one hand, Father Jakym hates the Russians, and especially hates being called a *xaxol*. On the other hand, he has been educated in a Russian Orthodox seminary, and consequently has been taught that Russian is a language of higher learning, while Ukrainian is just a colloquial language of peasant *xlopy*:

> "Fr. Jakym had already grown angry. In that area Ukrainians do not forget who they are and no matter what you say, you won't anger them like with the word '*xaxol*'. For this word they're ready to tear out your eyes. If Tymoxa hadn't been sent by the bishop then he'd so know what a *xaxluša* [female *xaxol*] is, that he'd tell even the tenth person he saw [ie. anyone]." (146)

> "*Panotec'* [Jakym] boiled - if only he could drive him one in the snout! - But the bishop had sent the youth, so his hand grew numb." (148)

> "[Antosjo] ... has turned out to be so lazy, that he just lays there and whistles, or plays, and will never say a human word, but all the time in *moskovs'ke* and *moskovs'ke* [Muscovite].
> - That's what they teach him, *panimatka*. How would one recognize that he's educated, if he spoke like the rest of us sinners? The way it once was is passed ...
> - ... you're telling the truth, father, it's not our affair to judge a *pip*." (201)

Just as the Ukrainian-Polish struggle is depicted in the character of Masja, so too, is the Ukrainian-Russian battle personified in Antosjo, the only son of Father Hervasij. Antosjo is pushed by his father to go to schools which could qualify him for ordination into the priesthood. This aspect of the novel is particularly autobiographical, as it directly parallels Svydnyc'kyj's own youth.

The schools which Antosjo attends are Russian Orthodox theologically, and Russian politically. This causes turmoil in the boy's life, as he gradually must adjust to the system and forsake his own heritage. When Antosjo returns home, Polish-Russian battles ensue between him and his sister, with Antosjo speaking in Russian, and Masja in Polish:

> "- Because you're a *svindja* [pig]! Simply a *svindja*, and wild, dull-tusked ... And you, *porosjonok* [shoat], dare? I'll give it to you like this! - And he shook his fist.
> - Get lost! Don't you know? - retorted Orysja - You're not the oldest one here yet.
> -What's this? What's this? I'll give to you '*po-makojedax*' [in the "poppyseed-eaters" ie. teeth, lips] - hollered Antosjo.
> - That's how it should be - Masja said cheerfully.
> - And you, Brutus, are against me! - said Antosjo sadly, but he shouted further, - be silent, you cursed *ljaška*!
> - How do you dare? I'm not to you what Orysja is!
> Antosjo had already spit into his fists, in order to punch better, when in came mother.
> - What? You've already begun to fight? - she said." (127)

Unlike Masja, Antosjo is able to overcome his pro-Russian sentiment, possibly in reaction to the physical violence of seminary education. Antosjo's personality is the opposite of Masja's, who so quickly submitted her will to her teacher, Pečeržyns'ka. Antosjo is tougher, brighter, far less naive, and determines not to be broken by his teachers:

> "There is no such person, as left the clerical school unbeaten - if not for one [thing], then for another, or else simply because he is unbeaten, they'll spread [you] out and give it [to you], so that you won't even [be able] to sit down." (119)

> "They recorded you as 'being lazy', - the students told Antosjo, coming in for dinner.
> - So! Let them write! - he replied, sitting on his bed and swinging his feet.
> - But they'll beat you!
> - So! Let them beat me! As if that's something new! They shouldn't have beat the first time, when I was afraid of the switch; but now I could care less...
> They spread out the poor fellow and almost totally disposed of him." (115-6)

> "Why wasn't I born something other than a priest's son? Why didn't they deliver me somewhere else, than to this accursed *svynariju* [a play on words, substituting 'pig' for 'sem-', creating 'piginary' instead of 'seminary'], under these *žyvojidiv* [cruel, wicked men; but literally 'eaters of live flesh']." (190)

Antosjo's integrity and stubbornness ultimately lead him to tragedy, just as Masja's lack of will leads her to suicide. Antosjo gains such a reputation for being a head-strong, undisciplined troublemaker that even the bishop punishes him, by forcing Antosjo to marry someone other than Halja, the girl that he truly loves. Antosjo dies ten years later, mentally ill, and unable to overcome the disappointments of his life. He literally wills himself to death, finding solace only in playing sadly on a violin, or in drinking. It is tragic that Antosjo's last words may have been uttered by Svydnyc'kyj himself at the time of his own death. Svydnyc'kyj, too, died at the early age of thirty-six, seemingly entrapped by fate into the lonely death of an alcoholic:

> "On the archbishop's manor was a deacon, and he had a sister - ugly, old and importunate. Now the archbishop says:
> - Marry her, and you'll receive a parish, but if you don't - as long as I'm here, you won't put on a *rjasa* [priest's outer cassock]." (231)

> "Against his will and to someone he didn't love, he got married, and just grieved, played a violin, and wasted away. The doctors said not to give him the violin, because he'd get tuberculosis. They hid the violin from him, and he began to drink ... While dying, the deceased looked at me, then at Halja, and said: 'I'm not dying my own death; I was killed by that seminary' ..." (233)

Svydnyc'kyj's desire to depict the intensity of the suppression of the Ukrainian nation through the system of education in Podillja is adequately and vividly depicted in the tragic lives and deaths of the members of the Ljuborac'kyj family. The bitterness of the struggle is communicated in various folkloric ways which express attitudes and prejudices directly and explicitly. The attention of this chapter will now be directed to such folkloric genres as songs, proverbs, folk poetry, name-calling, and insults as reflect national stereotyping.

A number of different names are employed by Poles to express their national sentiment about Ukrainians. Such names and derivatives from them, which are found in *Ljuborac'ki* are *knyš*, which is the name of a type of dumpling that Poles associate Ukrainians with; *xlop*, which refers to the "uncultured", illiterate and poorly educated state of the Ukrainian peasant; *xam*, a name describing a rude, coarse person, which all Ukrainians might be considered to be; and *xapoknyš*, which literally means "*knyš*-grabber." In his dictionary, Andrusyshyn explains this word as being a name applied to the children of priests, yet its usage in *Ljuborac'ki* indicates that it might also be applied by Poles to Ukrainians in general. Masja herself, once she had become what she though was Polish, also used these names to abuse Ukrainians:

> "Some Kyjivan came [in order] to be engaged to her, but she, they say, treated him to such a dose of hellebore, that he'll sneeze till he dies: she called him a *knyš*, people say, and did not even want to talk to him." (100)
>
> "Oh, cursed *xapoknyš* - thought Masja ..." (82)
>
> "Bidding farewell, the teacher sternly - so sternly commanded Masja not to meet with *xlopky*.
> - That's disgraceful, - she says, - that's shameful; and speaking *po-xlops'ky* [in the Ukrainian *xlop* language], - she says, - you'll so defile your snout, that neither with holy water will you rinse it clean, nor with boiling water will you steam it off." (69)
>
> "Only one thing did he [*pan* Rosolyns'kyj] not praise, that Masja was ruddy-cheeked, like a berry. 'From her face, - he says, - it's visible that in her veins flows *xams'ka* blood, that in her chest a *xlops'ke* heart is beating'." (72)

This last quote is indicative of two different outlooks on life. *Pan* Rosolyns'kyj adheres to the aristocratic view that a beautiful woman does only light, proper work conducive to having white, "innocent" skin, and especially white hands. Conversely, a peasant has dark, "ugly" complexion from constant exposure to the sun, and rough, ugly hands from hard physical labour. *Panotec'* Hervasij learns from his "good friend" Rosolyns'kyj, and then suddenly views his young, hard-working daughter as being ugly, and a *mužyčka*, or peasant woman:

> "- You're *durna* [stupid] - retorted *panotec'*. - And such hands! Like those of a *mužyčka*, - he added further, putting his head on a pillow, and says: make certain, that around me you're well-dressed, and take care of your hands, so that they'd be white for me! I'll give up my last tail [ie. cow], in order that you resemble human children. Ox! - he groaned." (15)

> "... are you a *mužyčka* or something, to be walking around by the pigs? You should respect your hands! And don't run around in the sun ..." (14)

Masja's mother later becomes alarmed at the change in her daughter's appearance, for Masja has starved herself and drank vinegar in order to grow thinner and whiter. Masja, on the other hand, takes pride in this noticeable change:

> "-Why have you, daughter, grown so thin? ...
> - Such people to you are sickly? How can I not be sickly when I don't fit into my own skin! Certainly *panna* Rosolyns'ka is thinner than I, and more pale, and no one calls her sickly! Her voice trembled [*dryncyt'*], and her eyes were rolling around so, and some kind of fire occupied them, - such a fire as cannot be described: she was happy, that it was not in vain that she drank vinegar, wasted herself away through hunger, and became, what she wanted.
> - You, daughter, were like a berry, - added mother.
> - Praise God, that that's passed, - answered Masja. - Now no one will say, that I'm a *mužyčka*, that I'm a *xlopka*, that in my chest a *xams'ke* heart beats." (80)

The *nedoljaška* that becomes Masja's teacher, Pečeržyns'ka, insults the Orthodox faith from her acquired point of view in an interesting cross-cultural manner. The Ukrainian Orthodox church is considered so heretical and paganistic as to be considered non-Christian, and therefore called a *božnycja*, the name for a Jewish synagogue. Specifically, however, she refers to it as a *xams'ka božnycja*, one which belongs to the crude Ukrainian peasantry:

> "Don't [let me find out that] you [Masja] dare even raise an eyebrow in that direction, where a *xams'ka božnycja* stands! Because I'll beat you then ..." (67)

There are more complex means of casting national insults than simple name-calling evidenced in *Ljuborac'ki*. In one instance, *pan* Rosolyns'kyj's daughters make a riddle about Masja. In another, Antosjo is taunted by a group of students from the Polish school, called a *himnazija*. The rhyme that they recite will be quoted in Polish as well as translated, in order to more fully indicate its nature:

> "Masja went often [to visit] his daughters, and exchanged kisses and everything; but she'd leave the house, and the *ljaxivky* would begin:
> - And what will that be, darling, a little dough, onion, and vegetable oil?
> - A *knysz*! - shouts the other. And they will go to wash their lips, and one blows on the other: It still, - she says, - has the odor of onion
> - It still smells of oil! - replies the other. And they laugh so hard, they as much as roll around." (72)

> "- *Knysz lapal mysz, popod mury lapal szczury, popod dachy lapal ptaki!* [*A knyš* caught a mouse; under a wall he caught rats, under a roof he caught birds]"(163)

Antosjo, however, could never allow himself to be outdone by a Pole in name-calling or insults. He is smart enough to leave a group of them alone, instead beating up a lone student of the *himnazija*. He then feels safe enough to insult the whole nation:

> "... not saying a word, Antosjo slaps him on the cheek
> - For what is the gentleman hitting? - the other [fellow] began to speak.
> - Don't call others names - shouted Antosjo, and hit him on the cheek, and then again.
> - Why am I guilty to the gentleman? - shouts the *himnazyst*, having grabbed on to Antosjo by the collar.
> - Ehe! You're still standing up against me! - said Antosjo and so shoved him against the ground, that it thudded. He gave him a few more slugs, - you're all, - he says, - *suči dity* [bitches' children], all of you."

(163-4)

Very few insulting names are used by Ukrainians in *Ljuborac'ki* to refer to Poles. A similar situation exists relative to the name-calling of Jews. Simply saying the word *žyd* about a Jew, or *ljax* about a Pole, communicates enough stereotypic information about these ethnic groups, that extra name-calling is almost unnecessary. It is not uncommon to hear people say "*O, to takyj žyd, ščo nu*", meaning "Oh, he such's a Jew." Similarly, but less commonly heard in Canada, is the phrase "*Ta vin ljax*", or "So he's a *ljax*", but which actually means "Did you expect him to act any different than a ljax ordinarily does?" In the text of the novel, the proper and uninsulting name for Poles, *poljaky*, is used very rarely, possible exhibiting Svydnyc'kyj's own opinion about Poles:

> "... *ljaxy* ... in Podillja - are neither ours nor yours - they do not abandon their own customs, and are not ashamed that they are *ljaxy*." (18)
>
> "We have forgotten ourselves, but *ljaxy* have not forgotten what we were ..." (51)
>
> "And have you? - asked one *ljašok* of another." (90)
>
> "... but Marija is such a *ljaška*, that she won't speak even a word *po-našomy* [in our language]." (100)
>
> "- Perhaps you're hungry? Maybe you'll eat something? - she asks.
> - Thank you, mother, nothing, - strained Masja through her teeth [a Ukrainian description of how Poles speak].
> - Such a one - though Hanna, - already to her mother she speaks *po-ljac'ky* [in Połack].
> The holy days passed. After the feast of Jordan they again packed, but from Masja no one had heard a native word - neither her father, nor mother, nor servants, nor anyone else; all the time she *cven'kala po-ljac'ky*." [cf. p. 42] (70)

Other name-calling used to insult Poles in the novel most commonly alludes to the wealthy economic status of the Poles. Thus, the word *pan* [wealthy, landowning nobleman] is understood as being a dirty word in itself:

> "The whole village knew what was happening at *panotec's*,and the servants [knew] long ago; only no one knew why the father wanted this, and the mother didn't.
> - This, - says Masja, - mother doesn't want, because I'll *zapaniju*. [acquire a *pan*'s manners].
> - So don't *panijte* [acquire a pan's manners], says Hanna.
> - Well, that's precisely why they're taking me there.
> - So feign that you're learning these manners, but in actuality, don't *panijte*.
> - I can't.
> - Alas! - says Hanna. - Then later you won't stop to talk with me, like now; by then, perhaps you'll beat [me]just for looking at you; then ...
> - I don't know, - interrupted Masja. - Maybe I'll become such a *jaha* [witch], that I'll cut off my servant's fingers." (49)

> "Masja ordered her mother around, and her sisters were delivered this [treatment], too: she regarded them as her servants; she maltreated them constantly; and herself, like a *pani* [*pan*'s wife], would just call out: 'And give me this, and bring me that, and do that, and go there.' - Why won't she go herself? - Don't dare to even open your mouth: she'll scold you immediately, or she'll beat you but good, just to subdue you." (88)

> "Don't you laugh, *pidošvo pans'ka*! [the sole of a *pan*'s boot or shoe]." (54)

In two other instances, Poles are referred to as dogs and as *holodranci*, literally "naked-ragged," or "ragamuffins" in English. Interestingly enough, also, the proverbial phrase "like human children" is also used by a Ukrainian to refer to Ukrainian children. This contrasts the use of the phrase by *pan* Rosolyns'kyj, who taught Father Hervasij that Polish people have "human children" (cf. page 41):

> "It would be better for him to perish like human [ie. Ukrainian] children, rather than *po-sobačomu* [in the manner of a dog, ie. Polish]." (56)

> "For whom are you waiting; who do you expect? Isn't it for one of those *holodranci*, that wriggle around you so?" (95)

Antosjo provides the reader with some very good examples of anti-Polish folk poetry and song in a very amusing argument with his sister. He is so familiar with this style of insult, that he is capable of improvising new verses, which catch Masja totally by surprise. She had started this particular encounter by ignoring her well-intentioned younger brother. By its conclusion, Masja is so frustrated by her inability to win the exchange of insults, that she must flee from her younger brother altogether:

> "Antosjo was outside when Masja arrived, and when he heard, he came galloping.
>
> - To your health! he says.
> - Ah! How are you! - she replies [in Polish], sitting by the table. She was already eating something, and didn't look in that direction.
> - So you don't exchange greetings? - says Antosjo.
> - As if I have nothing to do, but greet you! - replied Masja.
>
> Not having said even a word, Antosjo began to sing:
>
> A *ljašok* rode down the road
> A *ljax*-ish personality
> On him is a grey hat
> [Made] of pigskin
>
> He didn't sing this song any further, but hesitatingly spoke out [off the top] of his head:
>
> - *Za nym Masja točylasja; tak u Ternivci navčylasja*! [Masja ground after him; she learned to in Ternivka]
> - And where did you learn this? - she shouted.
> - In Kruty! - says Antosjo. - You [should] know, that in Kruty they teach better.
> - Clearly a *pan*, [judging] by [his] *xaljavy* [the shanks of boots], - said Masja, and she pointed to Antosjo's boots. And his boots were roan-colored, like dogs, and on their sides, like the runners on a sleigh.
> - *A panju vydno po nosi, ščo rylasja v horosi* [It's

> obvious from the lady's nose, that she's been rooting in the peas], retorted Antosjo, and pointed at her nose ... and added, - *ryla morkvu z petruškoju i vdavylas' haluškoju*. [she uprooted carrots and parsley and choked on a *haluška*, which is a type of dumpling]
>
> - Oh, you *krov sobača* [dog blood]! - hollered Masja, wrenched herself to her feet, and threw herself at Antosjo, but he scooted away, so that with greyhounds you wouldn't catch up to him. Masja ran outside [after him], but Antosjo began to shout and to clap his hands out here:
>
> - *Maška-ljaška vkrala pljašku, vtočyla horilky z novoji barylky; čerez tyn skakala, do ljaxiv taskala; mužyky zlovyly, po seli vodyly, ta byly po pjaty, bo ljaška prokljata - hu*! ... [Maška the *ljaška* stole a bottle, drained some whiskey from a new barrel; she jumped over a fence, she dragged herself to the *ljašky*; (but) *myžyky* (peasant men) caught her, led her about the village, and beat her on her heels, because she's *ljaška prokljata* (damned) - hu!]
>
> Masja listened to all this, then says:
>
> - Just you wait, *lajdaku*![rascal]
>
> But Antosjo began:
>
> - *Lajdak-lajdak Antosjo spijnjav Masju v horosi, poklykav Stepana, vidvezly do pana; byly-byly, voločyly, a na rozum ne navčyly, i vidvezly do tata, bo ljaška prokljata - hu*! ... [*Lajdak-lajdak* Antosjo caught Masja in the peas, called Stepan, and they led her about, but [still] didn't teach her any wisdom, and (so) they carted her back to her father, because she's a *ljaška prokljata* - hu!]
>
> - Oh, the *prokljatyj xapoknyš*! - thought Masja, and she would have torn him apart, but - *rada b mama j za pana, tak pan ne bere*!.." [mother would be happy if even a *pan* (would take her daughter), but (even) a *pan* isn't taking (her) - this is a proverb meaning "you can't always get what you want.]
>
> Not having the ability to drive out her anger, Masja made up her mind to dispell her sorrow and began to get dressed up.
>
> - Where are you going? - says mother.
>
> - I'm going to the Rosolyns'kyj's." (81-3)

Tymoxa, the primary Russian adversary in *Ljuborac'ki*, is portrayed as being terribly abusive of his wife, her family, and all Ukrainians in general. Svydnyc'kyj was thus able to include many anti-Ukrainian names, used by Russians, in the novel. The most insulting and frequently used appellation which Tymoxa uses is *xaxol*, a word ridiculing the *oseledec'*, a forelock of hair worn on the deliberately shaved head of a *kozak*. Tymoxa uses this name repeatedly:

> "... says Tymoxa, - she's just so thin, eh, that it's obvious she's a proud *xaxluša*." (146)
>
> "You'll show me your *xaxlackuju* dancing." (148)
>
> "What?! I! (sic) You are lying, [you] unchristened *xaxly*! - he shouted. And it's enough [in itself] that he called out *'xaxol'*, that a Podilljan would never forgive [him], but he even shouts 'you're lying.'" (209)

Like the Poles, Tymoxa also ridicules Ukrainians by deriding certain foods that they are known to prepare. Tymoxa calls them *salajedi*, "eaters of salo", which is a specially seasoned, boiled bacon, and *halušniki*, or "*halušky*-people," which scorns a type of dumpling. At school, Antosjo has also learned the term *makojed*, an "eater of *mak*", or poppyseed:

> "Because this is how it is with Orysja: she married a *kacap*, and he calls her a *xaxluša*, and a *halušnycja*, and reproaches us [as being] *oblyvanci* [see below] ..." (200)
>
> "... he called them *oblyvanci* and despised them: What are these *xaxly* to me? (208)

In the previous two quotations, Tymoxa also uses the appellation *oblyvanci*. Svydnyc'kyj thoughtfully writes that Tymoxa "reproaches" Ukrainians as being *oblyvanci*, for this term refers to a long-standing point of theological polemics between Russians and Ukrainians concerning baptism. Rather than practising trine immersion in water as does most of the Orthodox world, priests of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, as a rule, only pour water thrice over the head of a catechumen. The verb for this is *oblyvaty*, "to pour over", from whence the appellation *oblyvanci* is formed.

Another name which Tymoxa uses has an historical or political connotation. The name "*mazepy*", in Russian, approximates the Ukrainian term *mazepynci*, who were followers of Ivan Mazepa, a *kozak* leader who unsuccessfully attempted to wrest political control of Ukraine from the hands of czar Peter the First of Russia in 1709. In the context of the particular situation in which Tymoxa uses this appellation Tymoxa is commenting to himself about the "strange" Ukrainian practice of parents asking a girl if she, indeed, wants to marry a suitor who has come to request her parents' permission to marry their daughter:

> "-Well, so you'll give me the second [daughter] in marriage?
> - But it's not me that'll [have to] live with you, - spoke Father Jakym, - she herself must be asked.
> - Well! So go and ask.
> Father Jakym went into the alcove, and Tymoxa began to walk about the house and think to himself:
> - As if to pay [such] attention to her, [or] to any sort of broad! Bah, *mazepy*, what you've thought up!" (147)

Tymoxa's primary adversary is *panimatka* Ljuborac'ka, and they have some fearsome arguments. It is, indeed, *panimatka* who gives the reader an idea of how many different names Ukrainians use to insult Russians. On the whole, no word is used more than the name *kacap*, which is formed from two words, *kak* and *cap*. When condensed into one word, they mean "like a goat", which is a reference to the common habit of Russian men of wearing beards. Ukrainians, on the other hand, have traditionally not worn beards, unless they were clergymen of the Orthodox rite. The term *kacap* in *Ljuborac'ki* is used almost exclusively in place of *russkij*, which is what Russians call themselves. The contemporary Ukrainian word *rosijs'kyj* is not used by Svydnyckyj at all. His sentiments about Russians are clearly no more favorable than they are towards Poles. This is especially evident in the statements that the villagers of Solod'ky make about Tymoxa:

> "... they asked the cantor to scribble a supplication to the archbishop ... in order that he'd take him [Tymoxa], this inhuman one, and send him back to *kacapščyna*, from whence he came, because he is totally inappropriate: he neither knows nor respects the customs, nor does he even understand the language. They asked that his wife be left here, anywhere, as a *proskurnycja* [a woman who bakes the *prosphor*, a special unleavened bread used in celebration of the Holy Eucharist in the eastern Christian rite] for that matter even in Solod'ky, because she is not a *kacapka*." (210)

There are many other examples of use of the name *kacap* in *Ljuborac'ki*:

> "That's who'll marry the *kacap*, - Masja pointed at Teklja, - because she's so silent, - she says.
> - Oh, may he go mad! - replied Teklja!" (145)

> "And he's some sort of a *kacaps'kyj* graduate!" (205)

> "But is hell really worse than living with a *kacap*, - uttered Orysja, and tears rolled down, like peas." (218)

The most violent fight which occurs between *panimatka* and Tymoxa is worth quoting at length, as it is full of name-calling and insults from both the Ukrainian and Russian points of view:

> "- Who's a *durak* [fool]? Antosjo? But you in totality are not worthy of him, [even] with your *kacap* family, *rizac'kym* [butchering] nest, you *pohanec'* [infidel], walking around!
> - What kind of a *pohanec'* am I? What kind? What kind? Speak, old *vid'mo*! [witch] - Tymoxa set against [her] with a roar.
> - Just such a *pohanec'*, and that's enough! *Kacap! Markytan* [sutler]! *Korobošnyk* [Russian tinker]! Stinking *pylypon* [a member of a particular Russian religious sect]!
> - I'm going to beat you [up]! - began Tymoxa already in Muscovite.
> - Maybe even with a *bulava* [possibly a symbolic reference to the loss of Ukrainian *kozak* freedom to Russian rule]? You should get acquainted with your own [sort].
> - With whom of my own?
> - You already know, with whom you kept company in the forests, and sat about on the road.
> - When? You saw [this], [you] old *korga* [crone]?
> - Although I didn't see [it], I still know, that for a radish you're ready to *zakacapyty* [literally - "to act like a *kacap*", but intentionally - "to murder"].
> - Be silent, [you] accursed woman!
> - Take that - the *popadja* [*panimatika*] gave him a *dulja* [insulting hand gesture] ..." (206)

5

Several other names which are meant to insult Tymoxa are *zarizaka*, a "cut-throat"; *holovoriz*, or "one who cuts heads off"; *lapotnyk*, which is a person who makes or wears bast shoes; *zadripanec'*, a filthy, slovenly person; the very common *sučyj syn*, or "son of a bitch"; and *Moskal'* literally meaning "Muscovite," but in Ukrainian usage a pejorative synonym for "Russian", approximately equal to the English "Russkie:"

> "So bring down all *Moskovščyna*, gather *lapotnyky* from all over the world, let them pray to you, like to a female saint, - I won't envy you." (154)

> "... he's a *zadripanec'*! Besides that, a *kacap*, *holovoriz*, *lapotnyk*, and even a *pjanycja* [drunkard]." (205)

> "Oh, you very *sučyj syn*! *Zarizaka*!" (209)

Name-calling is not the only traditional means of insulting a Russian person. Traditional insults may be flung at one or more Russians directly. In the absence of a Russian antagonist, the entire nation may be described negatively in the context of a folk comparison, for example, or by mimicking an action commonly ascribed to this people:

> "What's this, *moskalju*, that you've thought up? - said mother. Are you in a tavern, or what?" (179)

> "- Save me!.. The *kacap* wants to kill me!.. Save me!.. You think that because the archbishop is your uncle, you can [commit] murder? Kill me! Kill me! They'll exile you to Siberia!.. More than one of your relatives is already digging gold there, and they'll lead you there [too]!" (207)

> "But Orysja is not Masja, - replied the clergyman, - and Masja is not Orysja; this one will not allow her *kaša* [gruel] to be spit into, like some *moskal'* Muscovite]." (201)

> "And she began to grunt like pigs and [do] everything that they [commonly] do to imitate *rus'ki* [Russians]." (146)

The final category of national stereotyping identified in this chapter may be discerned in comments about Ukrainian Orthodox secular clergy and their families. As this particular group of people comprises a particular social, as well as ecclesiastical class, this may more precisely be termed "socio-ethnic" stereotyping. Earlier in this chapter, the appellation *xapoknyš*, or "dumpling-snatcher", was already seen to be a name which is commonly applied to the children of priests. Other name-calling and insults traditionally used to scorn clergy and family are equally abusive. Much of this abuse is levelled by Masja at her very own family, for she has been taught at school to view her father's Orthodox church as a Pole of the time commonly would:

> "Kneel down immediately!
> Masja got down onto her knees, not knowing why, and Pečeržyns'ka went further: Make sure you don't lift even an eyebrow in the direction of a *xams'ka* synagogue! Because I'll beat you yet ...
> ... - Get up! - the teacher shouted - And go wash yourself, *xamko*, you're going to a *kostjol* [Polish church of the Roman Catholic rite]." (67)

> "Nothing in the world did Masja hate, nothing did she desire more, than not to resemble a *popivna* [the daughter of a Ukrainian Orthodox priest], - because that's a *xlopka*, she says, - but [she wanted] to be a *ljaxivka*, because that's of aristocratic blood." (80)

Masja singles out the typical long hair and beards of the Orthodox clergy as a symbol worth insulting:

> "- To marry a *pip*, - thought Masja, - is a mortal sin! Right! If it were a *ksjondz* [Polish, Roman Catholic priest], that would be a different story, but this is about a *pip* with a goat's beard!" (81)

> "... - Teklja will be a *popadja* [priest's wife], so two hundred [*karbonvanci* - Ukrainian equivalent of a rouble] will be enough for her. Even with that she'll [be able to] delouse her *borodač* [bearded man]!" (202)

> "Go teach your little Tekljunja how to braid [the long hair of] a *pip*; but I'll get by without your lecture." (203)

In his narration, Svydnyc'kyj makes some generalizations about priests and their families, just as he did about national groups. For instance, he describes unethical and hypocritical traits of miserliness, insobriety, a lack of conscientiousness, and physical violence:

> "Parents of *popovyči* [priest's sons] are a people so totally miserly, that they stifle [even] a *kopijčyna* [a lousy *kopeck*]; but to tell the truth, they haven't from whence to pour them money - there's school [itself] and often not [even] a *šah* [half a *kopeck*] to spend even for paper ..." (102)

> "In this spot is a *tandyta* [second hand market, primarily of old clothes and rags]: tobacco is sold and whiskey with a punch [to it]. To observe it from aside, *panotci* scamper over here [along] with the clerics of the consistory, like a rabbit into the peas. And so they called this little corner 'the *pip's* hole'. From here no consistory louse ever exited in his full senses." (101)

> " There was no such thing in the seminaries as someone thinking to gain wisdom from the learning, or from books, - this [quality] is absent there; they study in order to finish the course, they finish the course, in order to take off to a village; they go away to the village, in order to settle down like a fish when it rains, that neither thunderbolt nor thunderstorm will move from its place. There's no such thing, as someone thinking what sort of responsibility he's taking upon himself, [by] letting himself into the *popivs'kyj* order. *Popivstvo* [everything associated with being a priest], is like a piece of bread guaranteed - everything, that these *popovyči* - students simply desire; all that their parents desire of them." (211)

> "Don't you know of [such] priests that beat [so hard], they as much as draw blood, and noone says a word, or even half a word. It's not such a world now, as to stand up for truth." (205)

Svydnyc'kyj made an effort in *Ljuborac'ki* to depict accurately both the bad and good sides of the Orthodox priesthood. More than just hypocrisies and inadequacies, he also shows the nicer side of Father Hervasij's and his family's nature:

> "Lord, Lord! The community respected and loved him [Father Hervasij], because he would never pass a small child, without having said a good word, and with an old person, he would stop for a talk.
> - And where have you been, *djad'ku* [uncle]?
> - Oh, there and there, honored father!
> - And where is God leading you?
> - Well, there and there!
> - God assist you!

> \- Thank you, *panotčen'ku*!
> And you will go, and he will go, and somehow your soul feels so light, it's as if God really is leading you, and not legs carrying you. That's the sort [of person] that Father Hervasij was!" (11)
>
> "... guests arrived - a neighboring *panotec'*: it was Sunday, which for everyone is free time. A feast began. And *popy* are a hospitable people, - there's no doubt about it! They don't begrudge anyone bread and salt." (46)
>
> "... says Mytro. - You see, *jimost'* ["your grace", said to a priest's wife], - he added, - at home in our village everyone respects you, because you're sort of the eldest among the women, - it's said: *popadja*, *panimatka*, is mother to the whole village; and you don't hold off *mužyky* [peasants] beyond the gate [not make them feel welcome] ..." (63)

This brings this chapter to its conclusion. In it, examples of national stereotyping, prejudice and discrimination have been interpreted as comprising a distinctive classification of folklore, for their method of transmission from person to person seems to differ little from the folkloric pathways that any other form of folklore is passed along. The nature of various inter-ethnic relationships, examples of structural or formulaic folkloric genres that communicate attitudes of national stereotyping, and the role of certain characters who depict typical inter-group relationships have been discussed in this chapter.

Svydnyc'kyj's intent in illustrating this complex system of inter-ethnic relationships in Podillja was, primarily, to educate a confused, naive Ukrainian people about the actual nature of these relationships. He had hoped to help Ukrainians learn to succeed against the political, social and economic designs of their national adversaries. Svydnyc'kyj executed his desire by illustrating to his readers what the people themselves were already saying and thinking about each other, and then by commenting on this folklore in order to explain the situation.

IV. Folk Proverbs, Proverbial Expressions, and Proverbial Comparisons

The genre of folklore which is most abundant in *Ljuborac'ki* is that which is most commonly called a proverb. Svydnyc'kyj wanted his novel to depict the folklife of Podillja as accurately as possible, and he exhibited his own natural talent for relating folk proverbs by bestowing his characters with the same quality. Antosjo, Fr. Hervasij, *panimatka*, Masja and even the narrator himself converse in a manner of speech which is highly embellished with popular phrases commonly found in Ukrainian folk speech and, it must be assumed, in the Ukrainian dialect of Podillja. Svydnyc'kyj recognized the function of folk proverbs in coloring, or intensifying a conversation, and therefore intended for them to make his novel both more interesting and informative for his readers. The reader is thus able to formulate more easily an adequate picture in his mind of the type of people about which he is reading, inasmuch as proverbs reflect the world-view of the people that have formed them and nurture them.

The proverb is a genre of folklore which eludes and defies a strict scientific definition. It may be recognized and categorized according to structure, theme, or origin, yet it nonetheless frustrates ethnographers who have tried to define it. Therefore, this essay will define and describe the various types of proverbs in accordance with the work of the proverb's greatest scholar, Archer Taylor. Since 1931, Taylor himself has frustrated generations of his pupils by adhering to the famous opening lines of his classic paremiological work, *The Proverb*:

> "The definition of a proverb is too difficult to repay the undertaking; and should we fortunately combine in a single definition all the essential elements and give each the proper emphasis, we should not even then have a touchstone. An incommunicable quality tells us this sentence is proverbial and that one is not."[1]

Despite criticism by such eminent paremiologists as Alan Dundes regarding the "defeatist" nature of such a statement,[2] Taylor's book is still recognized, many years later, as the best introductory work on the subject in existence.[3] Dundes himself has proposed a theory of defining proverbs on the basis of analysing their grammatical structure, but has not yet elaborated upon it to the degree that it may supercede Taylor's thematic division.[4]

Proverbs do have certain recognizable characteristics which distinguish them from other genres of folklore. It must first be understood, however, that the word "proverb" has two common applications. In one sense, it is a catch-word describing all forms of traditional expression or idioms, including proverbial expressions, proverbial comparisons, and even the single words of the *blason populaire*. Taylor thus describes the proverb as "a saying current among the folk," and as a sentence which no definition can ever identify positively as being proverbial.[5] For the purpose of this study, then, the proverb is understood as being a concise, standardized saying among a group of people.

---

[1] Archer Taylor. *The Proverb and An Index to the Proverb.* (Hatboro, Penn.: Folklore Associates, 1962, Reprint of original 1931 edition), p. 3. (Henceforth: *The Proverb...*)
[2] Alan Dundes. "On the Structure of a Proverb," *The Wisdom of Many: Essays on the Proverb.* (New York: Garland Publ., Inc., 1981), p. 44. (Henceforth: "On the Structure...)
[3] Roger Abrahams. "Proverbs and Proverbial Expressions," *Folklore and Folklife: An Introduction.* Edited by Richard M. Dorson. (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1972), p. 119. (Henceforth: "Proverbs ...)
[4] Alan Dundes. "On the Structure ...

In a stricter sense, however, the proverb is also seen as being a type of proverb, and some ethnographers therefore call this a "true proverb." The true proverb thus is understood as being a traditional statement consisting of at least one descriptive element, which in turn consists of a topic and a comment. Therefore, such a proverb must consist of a minimum of two words.[6] It is generally recognized as being didactic in intent, metaphorical or literal in theme, and simple or compound in sentence structure. The easiest proverb to recognize is one constructed of two equal phrases which contrast each other metaphorically, yet the intent of which is either to direct future activity or to alter an attitude toward something that has already occurred: "In either case, the proverb places the problem situation in a recognizable category by providing a solution in traditional witty terms."[7] Although this binary construction creates a witty effect, not all traditional sayings require such a structure to be recognized as being proverbial. It is for this reason that Taylor shies away from comparing a strict, empirical definition of a proverb.

---

[5] Archer Taylor, *The Proverb* ..., p. 3.
[6] Alan Dundes. "On the Structure ..., p. 60.
[7] Roger Abrahams. "Proverbs ..., p. 121.

Before continuing the discussion on the qualities of proverbs, both thematic and structural, it is necessary to explain the inclusion of an appendix of proverbs to this thesis. Since there is such a great number of proverbs in *Ljuborac'ki*, all of them cannot possibly be included in the main body of the thesis because of limitations in the length and style of the thesis. Proverbs listed in the appendix are neither translated nor transliterated, but remain in the language and alphabet in which they were found in the text. Therefore, the bulk of the items are in Ukrainian, and a few quotations are in Polish, Russian, or Church Slavic. The intent of providing such an appendix is to illustrate the value of Svydnyc'kyj's *Ljuborac'ki* as a wealthy repository of the proverbs themselves and as an indication of the skill with which Svydnyc'kyj himself manipulated proverbs.

Despite the efforts of the author of this thesis to identify all the folkloric elements in *Ljuborac'ki*, and for the purpose of this thesis the proverbs discussed in this chapter, the items listed in the appendix may not, unfortunately, encompass all the proverbs actually in the novel. Archer Taylor conjectures that "those who do not speak a language can never recognize all its proverbs."[8] The author of this thesis believes this statement to be true. Furthermore, being a genre of folklore, which is a living, changing entity, proverbs come and go, are successfully retained or are unsuccessful, and therefore die away. Some of the proverbs which may have been common in Svydnyc'kyj's time may now be unrecognizable to a Canadian-born, non-native Podilljan-Ukrainian speaker over one hundred years later. Great effort has, however, been expended to try to make the appendix as complete as possible.

---

[8] Archer Taylor. *The Proverb* ...,p 3.

Taylor writes that proverbs "... are invented in several ways: some are simple apothegms and platitudes elevated to proverbial dignity, others arise from the symbolic or metaphorical use of an incident, still others imitate already existing proverbs, and some owe their existence to the condensing of a story or fable."[9] Examples of non-metaphorical proverbial apothegms, metaphorical proverbs, and the condensing of a story or fable into one didactic sentence may be observed commonly among the proverbs of *Ljuborac'ki*:

> "What will be, will be ..." (74)
> "What is true, is true ..." (54)
> "To where the wind blows, there the willow must bend." (166)
> "Let the pig know its own pen ..." (88)
> "He, they say, who has not been to sea, has not prayed." (121)
> "... like that moon, that shines, but doesn't give heat, - in vain, said the gypsy, does it eat God's bread."(166)

The metaphors used in creating proverbs are usually drawn from experiences of daily life and the observation of nature.[10] A few more examples will illustrate this point:

---

[9] ibid., p. 3.

> "It's not that sort of world now, as to stand up for truth." (205)
> "... you won't break through a wall with your forehead..." (27)
> "God is not bereft of mercy, a *kozak* is not without providence." (203)
> "And what does a man gain easily?" (66)
> "Not to anyone does that proverb, 'A horse should stay with a horse, an ox with an ox,' apply, like to a Podilljan ..." (148)
> "He warned, they say, the goat about death." (16)

Roger Abrahams writes that, "Each proverb is a full statement of an approach to a recurrent problem."[11] It sums up a situation, comments on it, and suggests an attitude or recommends an action of some kind[12] to either a listener or even to the speaker himself. Proverbs, therefore, teach people a collective moral wisdom, and sanction a person's chosen course of action. Usually, this advice is conservative in nature. Not only the proverb itself, but also the context of the educational function is illustrated by Svydnyc'kyj in the following proverbs about filling one's head with knowledge, and the danger of letting a hawk into one's own home:

> "... and how well did you study, son?
> - They gave me a letter of praise. - replied Antosjo.
> - Show me - says father. - Glory, son, good, - said Father Hervasij.
> - Study, son, because only yours is that which you will

---

[10] Archer Taylor. "Proverb", *Funk and Wagnalls Standard Dictionary of Folklore, Mythology and Legend*. Maria Leach, ed. New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1972, p. 902. Reissue of 1949-50 ed. (Henceforth: "Proverb," *Funk and Wagnalls...*)
[11] Roger Abrahams. "Proverbs ..., p. 119.
[12] Shirley Arora. *Proverbial Comparisons and Related Expressions in Spanish: Recorded in Los Angeles, California.* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1977), p. 3. (Henceforth: *Proverbial Comparisons...*)

> have in your head. For with an empty head, where will you go?" (79)
>
> "- But whose?
> - His.
> - But how can it be his? - the old woman as much as shouted.
> - But it is, it's his, and that's all! You let in the hawk, so now amuse yourself. Now everything is his, unless you've noted down what you give, and what you don't." (178)

Not only in conversations and thoughts of the characters, but also in Svydnyc'kyj's narration are proverbs found in the novel. This educational aspect of proverbs may therefore be perceived in the following quotations. The first quotation is the proverb that begins the novel, advising the reader to listen to people, yet to think for himself. The second quotation compares the Ukrainian people, typically illiterate and uneducated in the nineteenth century, to a blind man who will foolishly jump headfirst into trouble by heeding ill advice:

> "Listen to people, but have your own mind." (7)
> "We've forgotten ourselves, and thus our own language, but *ljaxy* ... do not renounce their customs, are not ashamed that they are *ljaxy*, and not someone else. If only we had different knowledge - but as it is it's no wonder, because what is it to a blind man? Jump, because there's a ditch! He'll jump right into an oak tree, headfirst ..." (18)

Taylor describes proverbs as commonly using the poetic devices of contrast, alliteration, rhyme and repetition.[13] Contrast may be observed in the following proverbs from *Ljuborac'ki*:

---

[13] Archer Taylor. "Proverb", *Funk and Wagnalls* ..., p. 903.

> "... one's own work, she says, is one's own child." (137)
> "No matter how much of it there was, it won't return." (136)
> "In this church at one time Volos'kyj had been the cantor; he liked to praise God, and he liked to pour into his throat." [ie. to drink] (25)

In order to adequately exemplify the presence of alliteration in some of the proverbs, they must be transliterated as well as translated:

> *"Ne takyj teper svit, ščob za pravdu stojaty."*
> [t-t-t-t-t]
> (The world is not such now, as to stand up for truth) (205)
>
> *"Xto ne znaje, ščo komu ščo, a kurci proso?"*
> [x-šč-k-šč-k-] (So who doesn't know, that he wants what he wants, but a chicken wants millet?) [to each his own] (94)
>
> *"Nič nočuvav vin, de jomu Boh pomih ..."*
> [n-č-n-č-v-v-v-m-m]
> (He spent the night wherever God helped him ...) (73)
>
> *"... Moloda molodšyx šuka."* [m-l-d-m-l-d-š-š]
> (A young girl looks for younger men.) (115)

The use of rhyme to create an aesthetic quality in proverbs is readily observable in the text of *Ljuborac'ki*. These examples, too, will be transliterated as well as translated:

> *"O, za vovka pomovka ..."*
> [Oh, the conversation was about the wolf ... cf. page 85] (176)
>
> *"Ta ne vik divci divuvaty, - pora j perestaty ..."*
> [A girl cannot be a girl all her life, - it's time to stop ...] (196)
>
> *"Znajsja kin' z konem, vil z volom ..."*
> [A horse should stay with a horse, an ox with an ox.] (148)
>
> *"... jakoho bidolaxu, ščo ni kola, ni dvora, ni rodu, ni plodu."*
> [... such a poor fellow, that he has neither a peg nor a

manor, a family nor offspring.] (97)

> "... *i kinec' abo vinec'*." [... either the end or a crown] (98)
>
> "... *čym bahati, tym i radi*."
> [Whatever they have, they're willing to share.] (50)
>
> "*Nad syrotoju Boh z kalytoju*."
> [Above the orphan is God with a moneybag, [ie. God looks after orphans]. (96)
>
> *Xto topyt'sja, i za brytvu vxopyt'sja*."
> [He who is drowning, will even grab onto a razor.] (97)

Repetition, too, is a feature of proverbs which is evident in several of the proverbs in *Ljuborac'ki*:

> "What will be, will be ..." (74)
> "He waited and waited, but it never came about." (231)
> "What is truth, is truth ..." (54)
> "And what is truth is not sin ..." [This is a common reply to the preceding proverb] (54)
> "... someone else's sore does not hurt, someone else's nape of the neck does not itch." (204)

In some instances, it is difficult to tell whether Svydnyc'kyj is quoting a proverb in full, artistically embellishing or expanding upon a simple proverb, or has composed a proverb similar to the construction of true folk proverbs, which is defined as an epigram by Taylor.[14]

In the following quotations, the first example may be either an extended folk proverb or simply Svydnyc'kyj adding phrases to a folk proverb. The second example exhibits rhyme and repetition, but is probably simply a poetic phrase by Svydnyc'kyj having the potential to become a proverb. The third example exhibits the binary construction, rhyme and alliteration of a proverb, yet from the context in which it is found in the novel, it is probably not a folk proverb.

---

[14] Archer Taylor, "Proverb", *Funk and Wagnalls...*, p. 902.

The fourth example exhibits balance, rhyme, contrast, repetition and symbolic content, yet is too poetic to be considered folkloric. These are all borderline proverbs, exhibiting Svydnyc'kyj's affinity for and understanding of folk proverbs, to the extent that folk proverbs should have such an obvious influence on his style of writing:

> "As is usual for children: they still could do nothing, but love; they still knew nothing, but a brother his sister, and a sister her brother, and all together - [their] father and mother ..." (38)
> *"My sebe zabuly, a ljaxy ne zabuly, xto my buly..."*
> [We've forgotten ourselves, but *ljaxy* have not forgotten what we were ...] (51)
> *"Hore vsjakym syrotam, a popivnam i Boh zabuv."*
> [There is grief for all orphans, but even God had forgotten the priest's daughters.] (86)
> "Blessed by God is that person, that has tears of sorrow to pour out, and that person is more blessed, who has a heart that can communicate with one's own heart, that has a partner for love; with whom to share food, fortune and ill fortune. - what hurts one, also hurts the other." (197)

The humorous aspect of proverbs may be observed in *Ljuborac'ki*. Exemplifying this proverbial trait are quotations which poke fun at the fibbing husband, the pious cantor who loves to drink, the merry child, the foolish theologue, and indecisive thinker:

> "It's fine to push the mist before one's wife, because she won't correct one." [ie. lie] (129)
> "... he loved to praise God, and he loved to pour [liquor] into his throat." (25)
> "... a child: whether eating, or drinking, it [all just] pours down the chest ..." (76)
> "You're a *durnoslav*, not a *bohoslov* " [A play on words, substituting the adjective *durn-*, meaning foolish, for *boh-* in *bohoslov*, which means theologian]. (205)
> "... as they proverbialize: neither take me to the field, nor leave me at home." (181)

A different sort of humor is accomplished through vivid exaggeration in the following proverb describing blushing:

> "... don't dare even open your mouth wide, because you'll bake crabs for a day and three nights."

Taylor divides his book about proverbs into three main categories according to the origin, content, and style of the proverb. Under the topic of origin, he discusses the metaphorical proverbs, proverbial apothegms, and basic characteristics heretofore discussed in this chapter. He also discusses the existence of the "Biblical proverb": "In all the centuries of the Christian Era the Bible ... was an obvious and inexhaustible source ..." of proverbs translated from another language. He further notes that in proverbs of Biblical origin the disintegration of the phrase is easily observed, as the original "Biblical quotation gradually becomes a vague, inaccurate reminiscence."[18] Through the character of the pious, informally schooled *panimatka*, a number of proverbs of religious content were included in *Ljuborac'ki* by Svydnyc'kyj. *Panimatka* attributes almost all of them to her "deceased daddy," and relies more upon this knowledge than even that of her own husband, Father Hervasij. She recognizes the Biblical origin of some of these proverbs, yet learned them orally, as she herself is only barely able to read. The first quotation below contains Biblical proverbs stemming from Luke 18:1: "And he spake a parable unto them to this end, that men ought always to pray, and not to faint ..."; and also from Matthew 25:13: "Watch therefore, for ye know neither the day nor the hour wherein the son of man cometh." The second quotation below also contains two Biblical proverbs, stemming from Matthew 13:42: "And shall cast them into a furnace of fire; there shall be wailing and gnashing of teeth"; and as well from Matthew 24:13: "But he that shall endure unto the end, the same shall be saved." *Panimatka*'s version of these texts is related thus:

---

[18] Archer Taylor. *The Proverb* ..., pp.52-4.

> "Pray unceasingly, it is written in holy scripture, - spoke *panimatka*, - be on your guard, because there will be news of neither the day, nor the hour, in a *vohon'* [fire] the son of man will come.
> - In what sort of a *vohon'*? That's *v on'* [in which]! - corrected *panotec'*, - that's as if: in which." (45)

> "In holy scripture it is written that there will be 'wailing and gnashing of teeth' and such things, as could neither wonder into your head, nor enter into your heart. He who endures to the end, - she added, crossing herself - will be saved." (218)

An examination of *panimatka*'s religious proverbs demonstrates that they have their origins not only in Scripture, but in liturgical texts and popular religious literature as well. She often uses them to rationalize the misfortune which typifies her familial life. The first quotation below indicates the usage of the final phrases of the kondakion from the funeral service of *panimatka*'s church. The next quotations are probably *legendy*, which are "fantastic tales stemming from some aspect of Christian beliefs."[16] All of these proverbs and references to proverbs that *panimatka* relates are prophecies about the last times before the Second Coming of Jesus Christ to earth:

> "- Grant us, God, health, and to the deceased, eternal repose!
> - With the saints lay to rest the souls of your deceased servants, and female servants, and priests! - replied Ljuborac'ka." (234)
>
> "... in the last days the female sex will dress, like demons." (60)
> "... when the terrible judgement draws near, then the world will turn itself with its eyes backward, and its nape of the neck forward." (65)
> "... when the anti-Christ nears, then mother will stand against daughter, and daughter against her mother." (88)
> "... it was well that my father used to say, that when God gives, then he'll give into the window ..." (154)

In his chapter on the content of proverbs, Archer Taylor identifies a number of different categories of proverbs. One of these categories is called a "conventional phrase," and it is found in abundance in *Ljuborac'ki*. These are phrases and sentences which are customarily used in a single, special situation.[17] The particular situation may be as commonplace as a greeting or farewell, or as infrequent as the hesitation of a person to take something when it is suddenly offered to him. The purpose of the conventional phrase is to describe the situation, not to convey an ethical or moral lesson,[18] as is the intent of some other proverbs. Examples of simple, traditional greetings may be found in *Ljuborac'ki*:

---

[16] Bohdan Medwidsky, *A Reader in Ukrainian Folklore* (Edmonton: Department of Slavic Languages, University of Alberta, 1979), p. iii.
[17] Archer Taylor. *The Proverb* ..., p. 129.
[18] ibid., p. 129.

> "... bless me ... honorable father! - May God bless you! ..." (13)
> "- To your health!
> - Yeah! How are you!" (81)
> "- Oh, may God grant you health!" (224)
> "And where did you come from [so suddenly]?" (39)

Even more formulaic, but less frequently used greetings may be found in the text of the novel. These are more artistic or poetic greetings:

> "- Will you be shopping for something, or is God just leading you from somewhere?" (143)
> "- Someone's coming! - he hollered ...
> - By whom is this unhappy hour dispersed? - replied mother ..." (182)
> "- How does God preserve you here in the village? - he says.
> - Praise God, there's nothing to complain about, - replied Halja.
> - Praise God! - Antosjo answered." (182)
> "Is God leading you far?" (220)
> "May Jesus Christ be praised, - she greeted, curtsying ...
> - For ever and ever, amen! - replied *panimatka*." (63)

The most common conventional phrases to be found in *Ljuborac'ki* make reference to God, import His divine mercy, forgiveness or intercession, or imply a sense of resignation to His Will, when confused and despairing. The following examples illustrate a simple calling out to God, either in praise or in despair. The proverbial device of repetition is frequently used:

> "Praise God the merciful ..." (154)
> "Praise God, that it happened thus ..." (217)
> "Lord, Lord! What will it be?" (157)
> "Lord, Lord!" (218)
> "God, God, God!" (233)
> "God, God!" (218)
> "Merciful Lord!" (219)
> "My merciful God!" (219)
> "Lord, praise you! - she spoke, crossing herself ..." (145)

The phrase "*Boh znaje ščo*" is frequently found in the novel, and it closely approximates the English conventional phrase "God only knows":

> "God knows what!" (145)
> "... and where, God only knows." (227)
> "- Oh, God knows what!
> - And I'll tell you: God knows what you're saying! ..."
> (229)

Another conventional phrase expresses a quick wish that "God be with" someone. In two instances in *Ljuborac'ki*, the speaker is frightened, and desires God's protection. In a third, *panimatka* is disgusted with her daughter, and utters essentially the same phrase, but the meaning is slightly different, almost like "to hell with you", in English. In a fourth example, *panimatka* uses this phrase while arguing bitterly with her husband, she really means what she says:

> "... maybe that's - the Holy Spirit be with us! ... - Don't go, Father, maybe that's an unclean force, trying to lure you into a *prolyz* [a part of a river that does not freeze]." (74)
> "This is a demon, not a child! The Holy Spirit be with me!" (119)
> "Oh, daughter, daughter! God be with you! ..." (203)
> "So let the *pany* invent [things] for themselves, - they're rich enough for that; but to such [people] as us - God be with them!" (71)

One conventional phrase which seems humorous, although intended seriously, is shouted by the very colourful *panimatka*. She is being beaten up at the time by her son-in-law, Tymoxa:

> "Save me, whoever believes in God!" (207)

A frequently used conventional phrase requests God to grant something to someone:

> "Give him, God, all the best!" (201)
> "God grant you heaven even on this earth ..." (203)
> "If only merciful God would grant it!" (205)
> "God grant you to have enough for this year, and for us to work for you next year." (10)
> "And she begins to pray: - Grant, God, that she be rich, like the earth; healthy, like water; majestic, like holy bread! ..." (204)

The conventional, international phrase of resignation to God's Divine Will is found in *Ljuborac'ki*. Svydnyc'kyj, however, describes priests' daughters as commonly falling into the self-deception of blaming all misfortune upon God's Will:

> "Hopelessness will take away common sense and heart, and out of them will emerge not girls, but empty shells of girls; not a person, but a failure - without will, without anything: only knowing how to turn to God: whether sin or shame - it's all God's will." (97)

Conventional phrases associated with the occasions of drinking and toasting are included in *Ljuborac'ki*. Some toasts are simple and pious, whereas some are long and clearly bordering on irreverence:

> "So, God, grant us health! - he spoke, filling a glass ..." (201)
> "- Grant us, God, health, and to the deceased, eternal repose!
> - With the saints lay to rest the souls of your deceased servants, and female servants, and priests! - replied Ljuborac'ka." (234)

The toasting scene which borders on irreverence, is a particularly humorous scene in which Fr. Hervasij, *panimatka*, and a visiting priest "piously" drink in commemoration of some Christian symbol, dogma, or saint. The fact that this sort of drinking may have been common among priests in Podillja may be borne out by the inclusion of a similar round of toasts in Svydnyc'kyj's short story

"Havrus' and Katrusja." The quotation from *Ljuborac'ka* is quite lengthy and mixes religious references with secular:

> "They each drank a glass full, for God is One, then another.
> - What, they say, is a man worth without a partner?
> - And God exists in the Trinity!
> - And don't we have four evangelists?
> - *E*, if on a hand there are four fingers, then that's a cripple: it's necessary that there be five.
> - Six days God took, creating the world.
> - And on the seventh He rested from all his tasks.
> - But it's not so because, - says Ljuborac'ka, - this is how it is: great wisdom will create itself a home and establish seven pillars.
> - Ha-a-a! Good, mommy, by God, good! - spoke the guest, swaying and grabbing to kiss her on the hand.
> - They set up a "seventh pillar" ... And when they had counted through the twelve apostles, fourteen epistles of Paul, and were nearing the forty saints, then they themselves had become pillars. And the day began to grow grey.
> - Time for me to go home, - says the guest.
> - But just one more glass! - said Fr. Hervasij.
> - Just one, - added his *panimatka*, - so that, you know ... Ah! - she added, - may it be difficult for our enemies!" (46-7)

In Kamjanec', Antosjo plays violin with an orchestra composed of his fellow seminarians. After they had played a march especially for Antosjo upon his return from Christmas holidays at home, Antosjo relates a conventional phrase to accompany a gift of money to them:

> "Here you go, for someone for whiskey, for someone to rinse out his *dudka* [a type of folk flute]." (168)

Despite the beauty of its folklore, and the maturity of its humor, *Ljuborac'ki* is nonetheless a very tragic novel. This tragedy and sadness is often expressed in conventional phrases referring to *lyxo* (ill-luck), *neščastja* (misfortune), and *dolja* (fate). The name is called out in the vocative case, as if it were personified, and is usually embellished by an adjective, pronoun and/or conjunction. These conventional phrases are cried out in frustration or grief. The lament "My poor little head" is said in similar circumstances, and is, perhaps, just not quite as strong an experience as the lamentations becrying ill-luck, misfortune and fate:

> "My ill-luck! ..." (17)
> "My misfortune! ..." (136)
> "Oh, my accursed fate! ..." (231)
> "Bitter is your hopeless fate!" (204)
> "Oh, my poor little head! ..." (136)

Conventional phrases of farewell in *Ljuborac'ki* exhibit a great concern for good health. The importance of good health to a people living under difficult environmental, social and economic conditions, lacking the modern western world's medical advances, is reflected in Ukrainian greetings and farewells. "*Zdorovi buly*!", meaning "Be healthy", is the common phrase of farewell recorded in *Ljuborac'ki*:

> "- Be healthy! - says Masja, having come to them.
> - May God bless you! - replied the old woman, made the sign of the cross over her, and sprinkled her with blessed water. Teklja stood silently. So Masja comes to her: "Be healthy!" - she says. - And they kissed." (203)

Found in the above quotation also was "May God bless you!", a very formal blessing, accompanying a ritual of sending off a daughter from the home after her marriage. As with so many conventional phrases, God has been invoked in this instance, too.

In another farewell sequence, a conventional phrase is found which expresses a folk belief that if a guest will sit down in a house, then *starosty* will also visit the house.[19] *Starosty* are matchmakers, men who have been asked by a young man and his family to visit a young girl and her family, with the purpose of engaging the young people in marriage. Having unmarried children of eligible age was considered dishonorable in Ukrainian traditional, agricultural society:

> "- It's time to go! Time! - says the guest ...
> - Stay for awhile, *kumcju* [a *kumec'* is the god-father of one's children]! Just another tiny minute! - entreats *panimatka*.
> - No, already! Be healthy!
> - But sit! So that *starosty* would sit down!" (48)

Conventional phrases are coined to cover many different situations, and *Ljuborac'ki* has quite a few phrases that are used only once, or are infrequently repeated because of the rarity of the situation they describe. "*Coho ty oči vyvalyla*" is a phrase said to a person who is staring at someone, making that person feel uncomfortable. "*Za vovka pomovka*" is said when a person suddenly appears about whom people have been talking. "*Čy ja v taku hodunu vyjixav*" is a phrase uttered when a person arrives upon a scene of sadness or misfortune. "*Sčo za lukavyj svit!" and "Sčo za temnyj ljud!*" are lamentations which describe the cruelty of the world and the ignorance of a people. "*Holova svjačena, to jiji nakryty*" is a phrase attributed to the Czech people by Svydnyc'kyj, and is said when a person has been overcome and is about to be beaten up. These conventional phrases are translated below in the same order in which they have been presented in this paragraph:

---

[19] V. S. Plavjuk. *Prypovidky, abo ukrajins'ko-narodnja filosofia*. (Edmonton: Published by the author, 1945), p. 304.

> "Why have you forced your eyes open so?" (14)
> "Oh, the conversation was about the wolf ..." (176)
> "Oh, Lord! Have I arrived in such an hour, or what!" (226)
> "What a cruel world! ... What a dark people!" (228)
> "They fell upon him, as is fitting, in the Czech manner: 'The head, they say, is holy, so it should be covered!' ..." (209)

Conventional phrases which are characterized by their shortness and even bluntness are scattered throughout the novel. "*Ta ščo komu do toho*?" is a phrase said by a person who thinks no one will be concerned about the consequence of his actions. The formula "*Ot* + pronoun in dative case + *j* + a noun" has a number of different applications and variations in *Ljuborac'ki*. "*Ot tobi j raz*" is said by Father Hervasij when unable to answer a question which seems silly and pointless to him. "*Ot tobi j duren'*" is used by *panimatka* to rebuke a person having made a suggestion which seems foolish to her. "*Ot tobi j radist'*" is intended ironically when the speaker is surprised by someone else's comment. "*Ot nam i na ruku*" is said when the speaker, *panimatka*, believes that she can look forward to an event of good fortune. "*Cort znaje ščo*", on the other hand, is uttered when the speaker does not know what to expect of an event in the future. "*Cyt'te no*!" is said to quieten down a group of people who are chattering loudly. Once again, these conventional phrases are translated below in the same order in which they have been presented above in this paragraph:

"So what's it to anyone?" (125)
"Well, that's just fine! And how am I supposed to know?" (44)
"Well, that's a fool for you ..." (63)
"Well, that's happiness for you!" (225; 227)
"Well, that's handy for us." (97)
"The devil only knows ..." (113)
"Shut up, eh?!" (213)

Having discussed proverbs in terms of origin, style and content, the attention of this chapter now turns to two special categories of proverbs; the proverbial phrase or expression, and the proverbial comparison. These categories are delineated primarily on the basis of structure. They are very successful proverbial forms, as is indicated by their abundance in *Ljuborac'ki*. In fact, the number of proverbial phrases and proverial comparisons far outnumber the proverbial forms heretofore discussed. They are definitely the most frequent forms of folklore to be found in the novel.

Taylor defines the proverbial expression as exhibiting "the characteristic rigidity of the proverb in all particulars except grammatical form."[20] A proverbial phrase permits variation in person, number, and tense, unlike a proverb, which has a very rigid, traditional construction.[21] Taylor further writes, "The number and variety of proverbial phrases are endless ... New phrases are invented or establish themselves in traditional use every day ..."[22] A number of variants of the same proverb may exist,[23] all equally fixed in form, and equally valid.

---

[20] Archer Taylor. *The Proverb* ..., p. 184.
[21] Archer Taylor. "Proverb", *Funk and Wagnalls* ..., p. 902.
[22] Archer Taylor. "The Wisdom of Many and the Wit of One," *The Wisdom of Many: Essays on the Proverb*. W. Mieder and A. Dundes, ed. N.Y. Garland Publ., Inc. 1981, p. 5.

The primary technique of the proverbial expression is to employ metaphor, and this is often accomplished euphemistically, substituting phrases for words that would be considered too inappropriate for a particular occasion. An example of this in English would be the use of the phrase "he passed on", rather than saying "he died." Another example of euphemism would be describing a drunk man by saying "He's corked." Proverbial expressions illustrating euphemisms for death, the afterlife, and drunkenness may be found in *Ljuborac'ki*:

> "... from sorrow and woe they just rolled off. After them the invalid, too, moved on to that world." (56)
> "... Having come to despise this world, he moved on to that world." (197)
> "... he went to the tavern and returned ... wet ..." (228)

Proverbial phrases differ little in terms of structure, as they may grammatically constitute either a phrase of a sentence, or stand as a sentence on their own. Therefore, little more needs to be written about this structure. On the other hand, in terms of theme or metaphor, certain themes are noticeably used more frequently than others. As is typical of proverbs, so too, does *Ljuborac'ki* contain a large number of proverbial expressions about God. Even if He is not the subject of the metaphor, God may nonetheless be included in the expression. There is surprisingly little repetition of the proverbial expressions about God, as Svydnyc'kyj displays a relatively large number of different phrases:

---

[23] Archer Taylor. *The Proverb* ..., p. 22.

> "And has he, perhaps, spoken with God?" [ie. is he so smart] (46)
> "... and as for all the seeds everywhere, well God has already forgotten." [ie. there are too many to count] (131)
> "... he had wronged the community in that he had made his own god." [ie. egotistically done things his own way] (208)
> "We could at least reach the inn, if God helped." [a pious belief that God truly affects even the smallest events of life on earth] (231)
> "... God sentenced such a fate ..." [ie. it was God's will] (234)

The various parts of the human body constitute the largest thematic category of proverbial phrases in *Ljuborac'ki*. The head and nose are the body parts most frequently alluded to:

> "And as for what's happening in the world ... Our head does not belong in it!" [ie. we should mind our own business] (201)
> "For the farewell gathering they set down *mohoryč* [booze] ... and it hummed in the head." (139)
> "I haven't even time to scratch my head." (149)
> "And my head won't hurt." [ie. I'll be alright] (115)
> "And stupid is your female head ..." (46)
> "... such a one, as light would not shine under his nose ..." [ie. too young to grow a moustache] (210)
> "... the exam, that hung on his nose ..." [ie. was forthcoming] (160)
> "Oh, you set up a *pivzynja* [a pole used to hold up a haystack] under your nose! You've not yet grown up to the point that you can teach your mother!" [ie. putting on airs] (149)
> "This is not like in winter: from under a sheepskin coat, not able to expose even one's nose!" [ie. so cold] (38)
> "... a bird with a shackled nose!" [ie. one who tattles on his peers, in order to gain favor from his superiors] (160)

"Being eaten to one's living liver" seems to be a very comical way of communicating anger, but in the Ukrainian language, and in *Ljuborac'ki*, this is a commonly used phrase. Many other body parts are used in proverbial expressions. They express a wide variety of thoughts, emotions, and actions:

> "You've eaten me to my living liver." (17)
> "... he didn't show himself to her eyes." [ie. make an appearance] (137)
> "*Panotec'* boiled - if only he could drive him one in the *morda*!" [ie. hit him in the mug] (148)
> "... nearly tearing out her hair ..." [ie. angry] (146)
> "... you already keep on marrying off your grandchildren, but my children, orphans, hang on my neck bones!" (95)
> "But Antosjo didn't even turn an ear ..." [ie. was indifferent] (137)
> "You've already loosened your lip ..." [said too much] (154)
> "My father has eaten a tooth being a sexton ..." [grown old being a sexton] (15)
> "... on his cheeks blood played." [a sign of health and handsomeness] (223)
> "... while cursing everyone and everything, who and what jump under his tongue." [whoever or whatever he can think of] (181)

Contrasting his obvious fascination with the more strictly defined forms of proverbs, Archer Taylor downplays the potential of proverbial comparisons for scholarly study: "Apparently the proverbial comparison offers fewer opportunities for study than the proverb, although it seems probable that something new can be learned by examining variations in taste from age to age."[24] In his classic paremiological work, *The Proverb...*, Taylor spends very little time discussing proverbial comparisons, finding that despite their great variety and number, they nonetheless offer "little of interest."[25]

---

[24] Archer Taylor, *The Proverb ...*, p. 221.

On the other hand, Abrahams and Arora find proverbial comparisons, also called conventional modifiers, to be of greater importance and interest than Taylor might lead one to believe. Abrahams does not seem to be pleased with the grouping of proverbial comparisons under the title of proverbs, but he nonetheless recognizes their traditional currency in decorating speech: "While proverbs are often used to flavor conversation or oration, they are self-contained units... On the other hand, the formulaic intensifiers exist for no other reason than to decorate speech. These are devices of hyperbole; they take on ongoing argument and lend it wit and color."[26] Abrahams nonetheless finds proverbial comparisons to be "the most formulaic elements of folk speech," as they are "conventional and commonly arise in conversational contexts."[27]

Arora finds that proverbial comparisons are used by speakers in much the same manner as proverbs: "The user of a proverb takes advantage of the authority conferred by tradition to reinforce the attitude or advice conveyed in the saying he employs. Similarly, the speaker who might be reluctant to use a hyperbolic phrase of his own invention, lest it meet with disapproval or even ridicule, may without hesitation resort to a 'conventional modifier' whose content has been sanctioned by traditional use ..."[28] Arora herself found the study of proverbial comparisons varied and rewarding enough to title her lengthy study: *Proverbial Comparisons and Related Expressions in Spanish.*

---

[25] ibid., p. 221.
[26] Roger Abrahams. "Proverbs ..., p. 123.
[27] ibid, p. 123.

Proverbial comparisons are described in paremiological literature as being devices of both hyperbole and simile. As was indicated above, Abrahams and Arora employ the term of hyperbole. MacNeil, conversely, calls proverbial comparisons "traditional similes", for they explicitly liken or compare one thing to another, using words such as "like", "as", "more than", or "so that."[29] By structure, proverbial comparisons may be observed to be similes. In terms of content or meaning, however, they most certainly do add color and intensity to speech, and this is indeed occasionally accomplished by the device of hyperbole. This exaggeration may be achieved by the device of expansion, or adding subsequent phrases to a comparison already in existence. An example of this would be the progression "as slow as molasses" to "as slow as molasses in January running uphill ... backward."[30] Examples of the device of expansion may be observed among proverbial comparisons in *Ljuborac'ki*. In the first quotation below, young boys tormenting a fellow student are likened to a puppy. A second phrase is added to describe what a puppy does. In the second quotation, two proverbial comparisons are added to further describe a "cat-like" look in the character Javtux's eyes:

---

[28] Shirley Arora. *Proverbial Comparisons ...*, p. 2.
[29] William MacNeil. *American Folklore: Proverbs in Folklore.* Deland, Florida: Everett/Edwards, Inc., 1979 Cassette. (Henceforth: *American Folklore...*)
[30] Roger Abrahams. "Proverbs ..., p. 124.

> "... they shoved, nipped, tugged, like that puppy: nip, and it runs away!" (217)
> "... in [his] eyes shone something cat-like, as if perhaps he'll pounce, like a cat at a mouse." (51)

Proverbial comparisons typically carry little moralistic advice, although Arora notes that one area of overlap does exist, in which expressions "which may be classified as comparisons from a grammatical point of view, appear to function essentially as proverbs."[31] This degree of overlap may be exhibited in the following proverb:

> "But a visiting priest, is like a visiting *pan* [nobleman], when he fleeces [you of your money], then even your fingers know." (96)

The primary intent of a proverbial comparison, therefore, is to intensify an image, to further illuminate and object. Proverbial comparisons indicate the degree of seriousness with which an object or idea should be considered, ranging from the terrifying to the hilarious.

One of the most striking features of proverbial comparisons in *Ljuborac'ki* is the variety of their construction. Arora notes that there is "a notable variety of formulas available for a given expression,"[32] and the validity of this statement seems to be witnessed in *Ljuborac'ki*. Seven different categories of proverbial comparisons may be identified in this novel. The most abundant form is that using the word *jak*, meaning "like" or

---

[31] Shirley Arora. *Proverbial Comparisons* ..., p. 3.
[32] Shirley Arora, ibid., p. 8.

"as", in the formula "____, like/as a ____." This *jak* formula exhibits the binary constructions so typical of proverbs:

> "... they jump, like wild goats." (158)
> "... Antosjo grasped her, like a vise." (153)
> "... Masja had a ruddy complexion, like a berry." (72)
> "... the son ... went along, white, like clay." (23)

The construction of the proverbial comparison is subject to great variation. Not only single words in the nominative case, but word combinations consisting of prepositions and nouns, and entire phrases, may be observed on either side of the pivotal word *jak*:

> "... it was visible, as on a palm [of a hand]." (224)
> "... in the house, like in a chalice, it was clean and white and neat." (197)
> "... it boiled, as in a cauldron." [said of a house full of people] (27)
> "... in his legs he felt such strength, that he took off swiftly, as on post office horses ..." (183)
> "The priesthood is like a shred of bread guaranteed ..." (211)
> "... priests scamper in here with the clerics of the consistory, like rabbits into the peas." (101)
> "... he sobbed and extinguished [ie. died], like a candle during the blessing of water ..." [on the feast of Jordan] (233)

Svydnyc'kyj's proverbial comparisons using *jak* often exhibit the technique of expansion, compounding phrases in the second part of the construction, even though only one phrase would be sufficient to communicate a comparison and color the sentence:

> "But we, in our father's home, were like chicks, *vkupi-vkupočci*." [together-so together-diminutive] (180)
> "... they take off to the village in order to settle down, like a fish during rain, that neither thunder nor thunderstorm can move from its place." (211)
> "... and the ones that stayed behind grew silent, like a frog before rain, - not a peep." (217)

> "... the *panna* [daughter of an aristocrat] stands ... on thin legs, like a heron, or a crane." (70)
>
> "... and village after village, like a link after a link is joined into a chain." (57)

In the second part of the binary construction, lone adjectives may be used in the nominative. This, however, changes the nuance of the word *jak* from "like" to "as if" in English:

> "... *vin sydiv, jak kaminnyj* ..." [he sat, as if of stone ...] (226)
>
> "*I Antosjo brykav za hurtom, jak šalenyj* ..." [And Antosjo frolicked after the group, as if mad ...] (211)
>
> "... *dzvin vdavsja, jak čerepjanyj* ..." [the bell turned out, as if of clay...] (209)
>
> "*A Tymoxa, jak nežyvyj, movčav.*" [But Tymoxa, as if not alive, kept silent.] (155)

Two interesting examples of a reversed *jak* formula are found in the novel. They both employ a negated clause, preceding the object of comparison:

> "... there is no such red beet, as she." (73)
>
> "... and hungry chicks or thirsty ducks do not throw themselves toward grain, toward water, like these [students] threw themselves toward the benches for their hats." (211)

A second major type of proverbial comparison is recognizable by the word *až*, which in the case of a proverbial comparison may be only rather clumsily translated into English as: "to the point that", or "to such a degree that." This formula differs slightly from the *jak* formula, in that the second part of the binary construction typically uses a verb more frequently in the *až* formula. A predicate verb either accompanies the usual noun, or stands unaccompanied by a proper noun, instead communicating the subject pronoun through its own conjugation. The form of the construction still, however, resembles the *jak* formula, "____, *až* ____":

> "And the sun as much as invites itself into the house ..." (67)
> "... gold coins and jewelry on her, to the point that she bends her neck." (27)
> "And they struck up a tune so vivacious, to the degree that hair stands on end." (168)
> "He bowed ... with such a jerk, he as much as scraped the floor." (182)
> "... he studied, to the point that he didn't remember." (123)
> "... he spoke with a bass voice, that as much as rumbled." (200)
> "And all around work as much as burns ..." [ie. there's so much] (15)

The *až* formula, too, may be embellished by the addition of a second clause. This device of expansion, however, is observed more frequently in the *jak* formula:

> "... he slapped her on the cheek, to such a degree that it echoed and blood washed over the poor woman." (207)
> "... he is delighted, to the degree that he doesn't know where he's sitting ..." (78)

The third type of proverbial comparison employs the word *nače*, meaning "as if", in the formula "____, *nače* ____." This is the most poetic and artistic of the proverbial comparison formulas, very often using long, compound phrases in the second half of the binary construction:

> "... and on your soul somehow it's so light, as if God really is leading you, and not your legs carrying you." (11)
> "... as if [going] to the edge of the world, they made ready for the road." (48)
> "... and the heart that had so fluttered, to the degree it had dissolved, will as if grow cool, grow silent and just - beat! beat!" (186)
> "... his heart so weakened, as if someone with a thin string had tied it up, or with a horse-hair." (188)

Long single phrases are more typical of the *nače* formula than of the *jak* or *až* formulas. The shortest phrases in this category usually consist of a predicate and object. The subject pronoun is understood by the conjugation of the predicate:

> "... they beat up such a dust-cloud, it was as if a hundred geese had flown about the house." (204)
> "... it was as if a second mind had entered into his head." (129)
> "... the sun baked, as if thinking to set the whole world on fire." (157)
> "As if someone had glued his lips together with tar, that's how Antosojo kept silent." (128)
> "... he went to Bessarabia and covered his track, *nače snihom zamelo*." [as if it had been blown over with snow] (56)
> "... gravely, so gravely he bowed, *nače aršyn prokovtnuv* ..." [as if he had swallowed a measuring stick] (126)
> "... when he whips, *to nače v kata včyvsja*." [then it's as if he studied under a hangman] (109)
> "Fff! - thought Antosjo, *nače strax vyduvav* ..." [he as if blew away his fear] (188)

Short phrases, consisting of only a predicate, or noun and preposition, are found infrequently in the *nače* formula. In *Ljuborac'ki*, such short, simple phrases seem more typical of the *až* or *jak* formulas:

> "And tears are rolling, *nače byly*." [as if they'd beaten her] (41)
> "A tiny bell tower stands ... *nače pyšajet'sja*." [as if taking pride in itself] (25)
> "How ugly they are now, *nače v molotnyka*!" [like those of a thresher!] (17)
> "... *nače v špytali, kruhom stojat' ližka* ..." [as if in a hospital, beds stand all around ...] (26)
> "... *sama ne svoja, nače zvarena*." [... she's not herself, but as if boiled.] (28)

Four more types of proverbial comparisons are discernable in *Ljuborac'ki* which occur much less frequently than the three discussed thus far. Rather than trying to conjecture as to why this is so, they will simply be identified in this thesis. The formula "____, *mov* ____" seems to be interchangeable with *nače*, as *mov*, too, means "as if." A variant of *mov* is achieved by adding the particle *by* to *mov*, creating *mov by*, which apparently does not change the meaning:

> "... he went ... *mov by* [as if] his legs are carrying him by themselves." (183)
> "... they poured in, *mov* they'd been loosened from a sleeve ..." [ie. in abundance] (157)
> "... she vanished, *mov* the wind carried her to the house." (181)
> "... tears are pouring forth by themselves, *mov by* there were full lakes there in a reservoir." (65)
> "... the moon ... hides itself behind a cloud, *mov* a bashful girl is covering herself with a sleeve." (144)
> "Everyone kept silent, looking, *mov* awaiting some sort of grace from God." (90)

A type of proverbial comparison which uses the word *ščo* to connect phrases of a sentence together, has different meanings in English. Firstly, *ščo* may be used as a synonym for *jak*:

> "... the boy *ščo* [like] that black bull, just rolls his shoulders, if they push him." (85)
> "Lo, out came Masja, like a star descended." (146)
> "... and in his soul is Halja, like that star, shining." (155)
> "Amongst all of them Antosjo strode, like that crane ..." (148)
> "... and he had such a boyish heart, like a screw-vise, it squeals." (85)

A second meaning of *ščo* is "that", or "so that". This is the most common function of *ščo* in the action of joining two phrases together, whether in the context of a proverbial comparison or simply acting as a conjunction. In the context of a proverbial comparison, this function of *ščo* closely resembles that of *až*:

> "... he scampered away, so that with greyhounds you won't catch up." (82)
> "... and there was one [student] there ... quick and active, so that even from under a cloth press he will wriggle out." (93)
> "... he gave her such a blow, that she even burst into tears." (42)
> "Two [strong fellows] stepped away from the crowd, that could overpower even a bear ..." (216)
> "... you had withered, so that you didn't feel even pain already ..." (218)

A third type of proverbial comparison which employs the conjunction *ščo* is very difficult to differentiate from a proverbial expression or even a conventional phrase. It is most easily classified as a proverbial comparison because of its adherence to the *ščo* formula, but the brevity of this type of comparison is its primary feature. When "*nu*", "*kudy*", or "*hodi*" follow *ščo*, these words seem to be more onomatopoeic than literal. "*Ščo j ne skazaty*", which might be literally translated as "that one can't even say" makes more sense in English as "that one can't even describe it." The examples below are transliterated as well as translated in order to illustrate the brevity of this proverbial comparison, which nonetheless communicates so much feeling that the words are actually interjections describing something that seemingly cannot be defined. The word *xoč* is also interchangeable with *ščo* in one example from the novel:

> "... such a rain beat down, *ščo nu*!" [... that ... wow!] (212)
> "... such a savage, *ščo nu*!" [... that ... oh my!] (177)
> "Such a handsome one, *ščo kudy*!" [... that ... wow!] (144)
> "... quiet, meek, *ščo hodi*." [that it's "too much"] (161)

> "... such a fire, *ščo j ne skazaty.*" [that you can't even describe it] (80)
> "... that he became a boy *xoč kudy* ..." [... became a wonderful, or perfect, boy] (177)

The sixth type of proverbial comparison employs the instrumental case of a noun without requiring even the addition of another phrase to the sentence. This abbreviated formula is not possible to translate accurately into English, as English does not decline its nouns into an instrumental case. Its meaning, however, is hyperbolic, and approximates any of the *jak*, *nače* and *až* formulas. This may be exhibited by translating an example from *Ljuborac'ki*:

> "... *sljozy ričkamy poteklу*" [tears ran in rivers - hyperbole; tears ran like rivers - *jak* formula; tears ran as if in rivers - *nače* formula; tears as much as ran in rivers - *až* formula] (235)

Despite its compact nature, this instrumental formula is infrequently observed among the proverbial phrases so abundant in *Ljuborac'ki*. A few more examples may be quoted here, nonetheless:

> "... *budjak stojav syrotoju* ..." [a thistle stood like an orphan] (38)
> "... *zažyv sobi Antosjo vil'nym kozakom* ..." [Antosjo lived luxuriously, like a free *kozak*] (166)
> "... *A pered očyma Kulikivka zelenym ta kvitčastym kylymom rozislalas'* ..." [And before his eyes Kulikivka stretched out like a green and flowery carpert] (183)

The seventh form of proverbial comparison has a very rigid formula of "____, *xoč* (+ object) + imperative verb." The second portion of the binary construction must have a verb presented in the imperative. This *xoč* formula may be translated into English as "that you could even," or "that you could just." This formula is not found as frequently as the *jak* formula, for instance, probably due to the difficulty of constructing such a rigid comparison:

> "... *vusa maly, xoč sokyroju tešy* ..." [they had moustaches that you could even hew with an axe] (102)
> "... *ta puhoju povodyt', - tonka ž bo bula: xoč jačmin' moloty* ..." [and he'll guide them with a whip, - thin it was: you could even flay barley] (219)
> "... *pišov do šynku j vernuvs'* ... *mokryj, xoč vykruty* ..." [he went to the tavern and returned ... wet, you could just wring him out] (228)

The proverbial comparison is so pliable a genre of folklore, that it may be used one after another in a sentence. Sometimes, one formula is used to expand or embellish another formula. As well, two formulas may be combined into one, as a means of emphasizing the comparison:

> "... in the house it became like [*jak*] in an orchard: green and fragrant and fresh, as much as if [*až nače*] humid." (198)
> "The soul ... as if [*nače*] in a shell, like [*jak*] a chick in an egg." (170)
> "... to the girl it was as if even [*až nače*] some sort of frost went behind her shoulders, and as if [*mov by*] a wind blew about in her chest ..." (196)
> "In everyone's head was that examination, that's like [*ščo jak*] torment ..." (157)

Having identified the different structures of proverbial comparisons in *Ljuborac'ki*, some of the most common themes of proverbial comparisons in the novel will now be identified. The most common objects of comparison are animals, both wild and domestic, large and small:

> "... he hissed, like a snake in a manure pile ..." (189)
> "... he sat, like a sparrow on a stake ..." (141)
> "... someone there jingled ... like a bee in autumn." (170)
> "... they grew silent, like a frog before rain - not a peep." (217)
> "... he stepped with dignity, like a turkey."
> "... Tymoxa examined this one [Orysja] from all sides, like a mare for barter."

"... she won't be able to wait long enough, [so] the quail has as much as wasted away." (196)
"There arose such a clatter, as if a hundred horses are running ..." (99)

Various parts of the body and domestic material items are common themes of proverbial comparisons in the novel:

"I'll respect you, like an eye in a head ..." (228)
"Give me something to eat, because it's to the point that my intestines are arguing ..." (46)
"As if on wings Antosjo flew home ..." (196)
"... the cassock became like a *kozub* [a box made of bark] ..." (75)
"... oak trees - tangled, broken, so that branches at the top, are like a hat on a peg." (222)

The wind, water, earth, and stars constitute a thematic category of commonly observed proverbial comparisons. The flower and the berry, too, are common themes from nature:

"Javtux as if fell into water, [for] no one related any news about him." (57)
"Man is for woman, like trees are for birds, earth for grass, water for fish ..." (228)
"... and the rumour ... was as if carried about by the wind ..." (148)
" ... three girls, like stars went ..." (11)
"And the church in the village is dressed like a flower ..." (7)
"... Orysja grew beautiful, like a berry; went about, like a star; bobbed about, like a flower." (217)

Both William MacNeil[33] and Archer Taylor[34] identify colors as constituting an important thematic category of proverbial comparisons. Colors are readily noticeable among the proverbial comparisons of *Ljuborac'ki*:

"... and they were red, like crabs." (164)
"... a stone verandah, like a little red belt." (24)
"... all [the students] were white - as much as green." (121)
"... Antosjo crawled out from under the bench red, to the degree that he'd turned blue." (190)
"The youngster as much as trembled at this news, as much

---

[33] William MacNeil. *American Folklore*...
[34] Archer Taylor, "Proverb" ..., p. 904.

> as whitened ..." (37)
> "... and she was white-white, as if someone had rubbed her with chalk."(85)

This concludes the discussion about the various forms of proverbs in *Ljuborac'ki*. Arora remarks: "The individual's skill as a verbal stylist resides, then, first of all in his ability to store up, for retrieval when required, a large repertoire of 'conventional modifiers', and secondly, in the appropriateness with which he is able to apply them to suit his purpose, whether humorous or otherwise."[35]

In the light of Arora's assesment of the skill of the proverbialist, it is clear that Anatol' Svydnyc'kyj demonstrated himself to be a master in this respect. In *Ljuborac'ki*, Svydnyc'kyj indeed proved himself to be knowledgeable of a very large number of all types of proverbs, and to be capable of using them in their proper contexts. It is no wonder that he was able to be used as a source for M. Nomys' collection of Ukrainian proverbs in 1864.[36]

Ljuborac'ki, therefore, may be viewed as a valuable source of study both of proverbs and the context in which these proverbs are used. Abrahams[37] has noted that a great problem of most early studies of proverbs lies precisely in the fact thay they were simply compendiums of proverbs, which did not study the context of proverbial usage. In

---

[35] Shirley Arora. *Proverbial Comparisons* ..., p. 2.
[36] M. Nomys. *Ukrains'ki Prykazky, Prysl'ivja: i Take ynše.* (St. Petersburg: v drukarnjax Tyblena i Komp j Kuliša, 1864. Reprint). p. I.
[37] Roger Abrahams. "Proverbs..., pp. 118-9.

Ljuborac'ki, however, Svydnyc'kyj has provided both scholars and casual readers with a living, vivid source of some seven hundred different proverbs.

V. Conclusion

It has been the purpose of this study to demonstrate the great degree of attention which Anatol' Patrykijovyč Svydnyc'kyj paid to folkloric detail in his novel *Ljuborac'ki*, by identifying and writing about a few genres of folklore which are especially evident. In Chapter Two of this study name-calling, curses, insults and threats were chosen from the novel. They were presented as interesting and colorful genres of folklore which make *Ljuborac'ki's* characters seem more real to life than if they had simply spoken politely and blandly to each other.

In Chapter Three, prejudice and discrimination of a national or inter-ethnic nature was exhibited to be passed along folkloric pathways in much the same manner as any other form of folklore. Consequently, folk-sayings, such as the *blason populaire*, and songs and beliefs are composed by one people to describe another people. Svydnyc'kyj included this form of folklore in his novel with the express intention of educating his Ukrainian countrymen about the actual nature of their social, political and economic relationships with their neighboring peoples, the Poles and Russians especially.

In Chapter Four, different forms of proverbs included in *Ljuborac'ki* were identified and discussed. The discussion was based on the standard model devised by Archer Taylor in his classic paremiological work, *The Proverb and an Index to the Proverb*. Proverbial forms were found to be the most abundant genre of folklore included in *Ljuborac'ki* by its author. Svydnyc'kyj created a novel helpful to the study of Ukrainian proverbs in their proper context. This in turn illustrates the value of literature in studying folklore, since a simple compendium of folklore too often does not indicate the context in which the individual proverb may be used in conversation.[1]

This study was limited primarily to the study of the "minor" folkloric genres in *Ljuborac'ki*, such as the various proverbial forms, curses, insults and threats of either a personal or national nature. Although these genres are three of the most abundant folkloric forms to be found in *Ljuborac'ki*, they are not by any means the only forms of folklore or folklife exhibited in the novel. In fact, it was difficult to limit this study as was necessary, rather than discussing all the other genres of folklore in *Ljuborac'ki*.

For instance, studies could be undertaken to determine the style of Ukrainian folk and urban dress as described by Svydnyc'kyj. One study might simply determine the items of pure Podilljan folk costume. A second study might compare Svydnyc'kyj's descriptions of Podilljan costume with other studies, such as that of K. I. Matejko in her book *Ukrajins'kyj narodnyj odjah*.[2] A third paper might analyse the mixing of traditional rural, cottage-industry dress with western urban, manufactured clothing, as described by

---

[1] Roger Abrahams. "Proverbs ..., p. 118.

[2] K. I. Matejko. *Ukrajins'kyj Narodnyj Odjah*. (Kyjiv: Vydavnyctvo "Naukova Dumka", 1977).

Svydnyc'kyj.

A study of the types of food eaten by *Ljuborac'ki*'s characters might be undertaken to determine, firstly, which of the foods mentioned are typical of Podillja. Secondly, as with costumes, a noticeable difference exists between foods being introduced into Podillja's major cities through western influence, and those typical of the rural peasant community. This discrepancy might be fruitful for scholarly study. A third research paper might compare the nomenclature of foods typical of Podillja to similar foods of other Ukrainian ethnographic regions. It was found to be difficult to ascertain exactly what Svydnjc'kyj envisioned as *halušky*, since terse ethnographic study of Ukrainian foods seems to be quite neglected, despite the presence of such fine ethnographic works as L. F. Artjux's *Ukrajins'ka narodna kulinarija.*[3]

Material culture is another aspect of folklore or folklife which might be assessed in the novel. Svydnyc'kyj's descriptions of traditional dwellings could be compared to those recorded in other books, such as T. V. Kosmina's noted study of Podilljan village dwellings of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, *Sils'ke žytlo Podillja.*[4] Another analysis might compare Svydnyc'kyj's description of the cities of Kruty and Kamjanec'-Podil's'kyj, with the characteristics and landmarks of these cities as they now stand.

---

[3] L. F. Artjux. *Ukrajins'ka narodna kulinarija.* (Kyjiv: Vydavnyctvo "Naukova Dumka"), 1977.
[4] T. V. Kosmina. *Sils'ke Žytlo Podillja: Kinec' XIX - XX st.* (Kyjiv: Vydavnyctvo "Naukova Dumka", 1980).

Much more attention could also be paid to the linguistic study of the manner of speech with which Svydnyc'kyj typifies his characters. For instance, a very large number of hyphenated, two word combinations exist in the novel. This may occur simply as a repetition of the same word, such as *xto-xto*, or "who-who" (Svydnyc'kyj, 1956, p. 69), *komu-komu*, or "to whom-to whom" (88). This device of hyphenation may use a diminutive suffix in the second word to make the description more endearing, e.g. *staryj-stareznyj* to describe a dear old man (86), or, *odyn-odnisin'kyj* to communicate pity for the plight of a lonely orphan (55). It is also possible to compare different concepts through hyphenation such as, for example, *divčyna-zirka*, a girl as radiant as a star (55); *pohanyj-rudyj*, a boy both ugly and red-haired (15); and *otec'-nen'ka*, which is a two-word synonym for "parents" (55).

Another study of folk speech might study the dialectal phonology, morphology and/or sematics of Podilljan speakers in the novel. An example of semantic interest would be discerning why old women address a little girl as *synu*, or "son" (85). Svydnyc'kyj also describes two other curious types of speech. One is that of *starci*, or beggars, and Svydnyc'kyj typifies them as substituting [c] for [č], and [s'] for [š] in places where a Ukrainian speaker would ordinarily never use them. Therefore, rather than saying *harjači*, *kypjači*, and *kašu*, the *starci* say *harjaci*, *kypjaci*, and *kasju* (85).

A second type of speech for which there is ample material to analyse in *Ljuborac'ki* is the curious mixture of Ukrainian, Russian and Church Slavic which Antosjo learns at Orthodox schools in Podillja. Svydnyc'kyj describes this as "a confusion (*mišma*) of Ukrainian mixed with Muscovite words" (159). Speaking such a slang in Podillja is nonetheless accorded a degree of social dignity by an uneducated rural population purposely being taught to feel inferior to its upper classes. Svydnyc'kyj, therefore, purposely shows this language of the educated to be pseudo-academic, and worthy only of ridicule, rather than respect.

Folk customs are described in the novel to such a degree that a worthwhile study could be undertaken to ascertain their similarities and differences from those of other Ukrainian groups, or simply to gain further information about such customs as the decoration of the home with greenery at the time of Green Holidays, or Pentecost. Customs and rituals associated with Christmas and the Feast of Jordan are described in *Ljuborac'ki*. Examples of dual-faith, i.e. folk beliefs and customs which occurred as a result of the combining of the earlier pagan religion with the Ukrainian Orthodox Christian rite may also be observed in the novel.

Games, song, dances, riddles, and rhymes may be researched in *Ljuborac'ki*. Svydnyc'kyj took great effort to describe Antosjo's youthful pranks, such as raiding gardens. Antosjo plays the games of *koni*, or riding make-believe horses, of *narty*, or skiing, and of *koleso*, a game similar to playing on a merry-go-round. When older, Antosjo plays cards with the boys at the seminary. Even learning to smoke becomes a youthful game of hiding his smoking from superiors who hypocritically punish students for smoking, when they themselves smoke tobacco.

A great deal of folklore was recorded by Svydnyc'kyj dealing with schools which he himself had attended. Certain rituals, customs, and mannerisms are one form of a "school" folkloric, thematic genre. A certain slang or argot describes events, activities, and places particular only to the schools. A great degree of psychological study might indeed be accorded to study aspects of this "school" folklore.

All-in-all, Anatol' Patrykijovyč Svydnyc'kyj wrote a novel which illustrates many types of folklore, and that gives ample room for research and study beyond the limits of this thesis. In fact, *Ljuborac'ki* utilizes so much folklore, that one might be amazed at Svydnyc'kyj's knowledge of, and adeptness at recalling such a large amount of folkloric items. It seems sad that Svydnyc'kyj was never able to undertake the serious, professional study of folklore that he actually desired. If it is indeed true that Svydnyc'kyj considered writing such fictional literature as *Ljuborac'ki* to be beneath his true calling, then present Ukrainian folklorists can only feel a sense of loss and regret that Svydnyc'kyj did not live "happily ever after", to use a popular proverbial phrase. *Ljuborac'ki* is an impressive source of folkloric information both for the casual reader and the avid ethnographer.

VI. References

Abrahams, Roger D. "Proverbs and Proverbial Expressions," *Folklore and Folklife: An Introduction*. Edited by Richard M. Dorson. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1972.

Allport, Gordon W. *The Nature of Prejudice*. Reading, Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley Publishing Co., 1966, 4th edition. 1st edition, 1954.

Andrusyshen, C. H. and J. N. Krett. *Ukrainian-English Dictionary*. 2nd ed., 1957. Saskatoon: University of Saskatchewan, 1955.

Arora, Shirley L. *Proverbial Comparisons and Related Expressions in Spanish: Recorded in Los Angeles, California*. Berkeley and Los Angles: University of California Press, 1977.

Baker, Ronald L. *Folklore in the Writings of Roland Robinson*. Indiana University Ph.D. Thesis Dissertation, 1968. Published by Bowling Green State University Press, Bowling Green, Ohio, 1973.

Bernštejn, M. D. *Ukrajins'ka literaturna krytyka 50-70 rokiv XIX st*. Kyjiv: Vyd-vo "Naukova Dumka",1959.

Bernštejn, M.D. *Zurnal "Osnova" i ukrajins'kyj literaturnyj proces: kincja 50-60-x rokiv XIX st*. Kyjiv: Akademija Nauk, 1959.

Boggs, Ralph Steele. "Types and Classification of Folklore", *Funk and Wagnalls Standard Dictionary of Folklore, Myth and Legend*. 3rd ed. New York: Funk and Wagnalls Publishing Co., 1972.

Brunvand, Jan Harold. *Folklore: A Study and Research Guide*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1976.

Dorson, Richard, editor. *Folklore and Folklife: An Introduction*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1972.

Dundes, Alan. "On the Structure of a Proverb," *The Wisdom of Many: Essays on the Proverb*. New York: Garland Publishers, Inc., 1981.

Franko, Ivan. "Anatol' Svydnyc'kyj," *Tvory v dvadcjaty tomax*, vd. XVII. Kyjiv: Deržlitvydav Ukrajiny. 1955, pp. 199-200. Originally in *Zorja*, 1886, 1,p. 5.

Franko, Ivan. "Pisni Anatolja Svydnyc'koho," *Literaturno-naukovyj visnyk*, XIIV, 1901, kn. 4, pp. 43-4.

Funk and Wagnalls Standard Dictionary of Folklore, Mythology and Legend. Edited by Maria Leach and others, 3rd ed., 1972. New York: Funk and Wagnalls Publishing Co., 1949.

Gossen, Gary H. "Chamula Genres of Verbal Behaviour," *Toward New Perspectives in Folklore*. Edited by Américo Paredes and Richard Bauman. Austin, Texas: American Folklore Society, 1972.

Green, A. E. "Some Thoughts on Threatening Children," *Folklore Studies in Honour of Herbert Halpert: A Festschrift*. Edited by K. S. Goldstein and N. V. Rosenberg. St. John's, Newfoundland: Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1980.

Herasymenko, Volodymyr. "Zvjazky A. P. Svydnyc'koho z revoljucijnym ruxom," *Zovten'*, 12, 1957, pp. 116-9.

Ilarion, Metropolyt. *Doxrystyjans'ki viruvannja ukrajins'koho narodu*.. Vinnipeh: Tovarystvo "Volyn", 1965.

MacNeil, William. *American Folklore: Proverbs in Folklore*. Deland, Florida: Everett/Edwards, Inc., 1979. Cassette, 31 min.

Nomys, M. *Ukrains'ki prykazky, pryslivja y take ynše*. S.-Peterburg: Drukarni Tyblena j Komp j Kuliša, 1864.

Onac'kyj, Jevhen. "Anatol' Svydnyc'kyj," *Ukrajins'ka mala encyklopedija*, kn. 12. Buenos Aires: UAPCerkva v Argentini, 1963, pp. 1689-90.

Opie, Iona and Peter. *The Lore and Language of Schoolchildren*. London: Oxford University Press, 1959. Seventh edition, 1976.

Plavjuk, Volodymyr S. *Prypovidky: abo ukrajins'ko-narodnja filosofija*. Edmonton: Published by the author, 1946.

Slovnyk ukrajins'koji movy. 11 tomiv. Kyjiv: Vydavnyctvo "Naukova Dumka", 1970-1980.

Syvačenko, Mykola. *Anatolij Svydnyc'kyj i zarodžennja social'noho romanu v ukrajins'kij literaturi*. Kyjiv: Akademija Nauk, 1962.

Syvačenko, Mykola. "Anatolij Svydnyc'kyj i joho roman

'Ljuborac'ki'", *Ljuborac'ki*. Kyjiv: Deržavne Vydavnyctvo Xudožnjoji Literatury, 1955, pp. 223-45.

Syvačenko, Mykola. "'Ljuborac'ki' A. Svydnyc'koho (Literaturno-tekstolohična istorija)," *Radjans'ke literaturoznavstvo*, 6, 1958, pp. 80-105.

Syvačenko, Mykola. "Novoznajdeni opovidannja A. P. Svydnyc'koho i jix fol'klorni džerela," *Narodna tvorčist' ta etnohrafija*, 1972, pp. 26-47.

Svydnyc'kyj, Anatolij. *Tvory*. Kyjiv: Deržavne Vyd-vo Xudožnjoji Literatury, 1958.

Svydnyc'kyj, Anatolij. *Tvory*. Kyjiv: Vyd-vo Dnipro, 1965.

Svydnyc'kyj, Anatol' P. "Iz M.: pis'mo k redaktoru," *Osnova*, 1861, No. 10, pp. 141-5.

Taylor, Archer. "Proverb," *Funk and Wagnalls Standard Dictionary of Folklore, Mythology and Legend*. 3rd ed. New York: Funk and Wagnalls Publishing Co., 1972.

Taylor, Archer. *The Proverb and an Index to the Proverb*. Hatboro, Pennsylvania: Folklore Associates, 1962. Reprint of original 1931 edition.

Ukrajins'ki pys'mennyky: bio-bibliohrafičnyj slovnyk u pjaty tomax. Tom. 3. Kyjiv: Deržavne Vydavnyctvo Xudožnjoji Literatury, 1963, pp. 142-7.

Winick, Charles. *Dictionary of Anthropology*. Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1956.

Zerov, Mykola. "Anatol' Svydnyc'kyj: joho postat' i tvory," *Do džerel: istoryčno-literaturni ta krytyčni statti*. State College, Pennsylvania: Vyd-vo "Žyttja i Škola," 1967, pp. 85-116. (Reprint)

VII. APPENDIX

A. Proverbs -- in alphabetical order

Бог
ст. I99 - "Що Бог судить, те й буде."

Богослов
ст. 205 - "Дурнослов ти, а не богослов!"

Брати
ст. I8I - "... і в поле мене не бери, і вдома мене не лишай."

Бути
ст. 74 - "Що буде, то буде..."
95 - "... якось то воно буде."

Вернутися
ст. 76 - "... не вернеться, що минулось..."

Вітер
ст. I66 - "... куди вітер віє, туди лозі гнутись."
208 - "Проти вітру попелом не кидати."

Вода
ст. 97 - "... силою колодязь копавши, не пити води з нього."

Господь
ст. I36 - "... не доведи, Господи!"

Грати
ст. I62 - "Не все ж, знаєте, і в неба грати!"

Дитина
ст. 76 - "Сказано - дитина: чи їсть, чи п'є, то по грудях тече..."
38 - "Звичайно - діти: ще нічого не вміли, тільки любити; ще нічого не знали, тільки брат сестру, а сестру брата, а всі разом - отцяненьку..."
I37 - "... своя праця ... своя й дитина."

Дівувати
ст. I96 - "Та не вік дівці дівувати, - пора й перестати..."

Діло
ст. I22 - "... зараз пізнаєш, з ким діло маєш."

Діставати
ст. 66 - "А що чоловікові легко дістається?"

Добро
ст. 235 - "... залякалась світового добра, що й лиха відцуралась!"

Доля
ст. II8 - "... лиха доля лиху дорогу показала..."
203 - "Бог не без милосердя, козак не без долі."

Дяк
ст. 25 - "[дяк] ... любив Бога хвалити, та любив і в горло лити."

Ждати
ст. 23I - "Ждав-ждав, не діждався..."

Жінка
ст. I83 - "Як жінка, то вже не люди, а жінка та й годі."
I29 - "Добре перед жінкою і тумана перти, бо не поправить."

Знатися
ст. I48 - "... Знайся кінь з конем, віл з волом..."

Кіл
ст. 97 - "... ні кола, ні двора, ні роду, ні плоду."

Кінець
ст. 98 - "... вінець або кінець."

Коза
ст. I6 - "Нагадав ... козі смерть."

Лихо
ст. 32 - "... лиха не обійдеш, ні об'їдеш."
50 - "... своє лихо забувається, а чуже й голови не держиться."
95 - "... і вам лихо, і в мене не тихо..."

Мати
ст. I99 - "На те вона мати ... щоб її слухати, щоб її не перечити."

Місяць
ст. I66 - "... то світив він, як той місяць, що світить, та й не гріє, - даремне, мовляв циган, у Бога хліб їсть."

Молода
ст. II5 - "... молода молодших шука."

Молоді
ст. I78 – "... сказано: »Молоді хазяї, ... чому й на пуття не навести?«"

Море
ст. I2I – "Хто, кажуть, не був не морі, той не молився."

Ніч
ст. 2I4 – "... ніч не стоїть – іде, не оглядається..."

Очі
ст. I79 – "... віделі очі, што пакупалі!"

Плахта
ст. 2I3 – "Один тому час, що батько в плахті!"

Поминати
ст. 70 – "Поминай же, як звали..."

Правда
ст. 54 – "Що правда, то правда ... Та що правда, то не гріх..."

Пропасти
ст. 23I – "... не я перший пропаду, не я й останній."

Просо
ст. 94 – "Хто не знає, що кому що, а курці просо?"
46 – "Кому що, а курці просо!"

Радий
ст. 50 – "... чим багаті, тим і раді."
82 – "... рада б мама за пана, так пан не бере!.."

Робота
ст. 37 – "Пішла робота поза вуха."

Розум
ст. 7 – "Людей слухай, а свій розум май."

Свиня
ст. 88 – "Нехай свиня знає своє стійло..."

Свита
ст. 8 – "... словом, як там кажуть, та ж свита, та не так зшита."

Світ
ст. 205 – "Не такий тепер світ, щоб за правду стояти."

Серце
ст. 2I8 - "... що й у голову не забродило, і на серце не заходило."

Сирота
ст. 79 - "... над сиротою ... Бог з калитою."
96 - "Над сиротою Бог з калитою..."

Скільки
ст. I36 - "Скільки не було, а назад не вернеться."

Сліпий
ст. I8 - "... сліпому що? Скачи, бо рів!"

Сміти
ст. 89 - "... не смій і рот роззявити, бо напечеш раків на день і три ночі."

Топитися
ст. 97 - "Хто топиться, і за бритву вхопиться."
230 - "... чи з гори вбитись, чи в воді втопитись?.."

Тяжко
ст. 20I - "Хай йому тяжко, кому невесело!"

Хлів
ст. 66 - "Та хоч і в хліві Богу помолитися, аби щиро."

Час
ст. 2I4 - "... час не жде на нас."

Чоло
ст. 27 - "... чолом муру не проб'єш..."
I46 - "Чолом муру не проб'єш!"

Чужий
ст. 96 - "А чужий панотець, як чужий пан, як дерне, то аж пальці знати."
98 - "... не сяде хто чужий, як не знайдеться охочого."
204 - "... чужа болячка не болить, чужа потилиця не свербить..."

Швець
ст. I68 - "Швець! - каже, - знай своє шевство, а в кравецтво не мішайся!"

Щастя
ст. 89 - "... не знала небога, що не туди до щастя дорога, куди люди справляють, а куди доля поведе."

B. Biblical and Aprocryphal Proverbs -- in sequential order

ст. 44 - "- Бач, - не знаєш, а покійні татуньо то й знали: піп найбільше нагрішить!.. А котрий так не служить, не щиро править, а тільки язиком меле, тому язик висітиме аж до пояса, та такий чорний! І чорти гаками тягтимуть його за язик... Он то як!.."

ст. 45 - "Кажуть було: монахи житимуть, аки миряне, а миряне, аки невіра. Хіба тепер не так? - Кажуть було, що як зближиться страшний суд, то люди поробляться скнарами такими та гроші любитимуть; один рів будуть засувати, а другий копати; ліси пообкопують!.. Все було покійні розказують! А тепер хіба не так? Та ніхто не бачить... Женитимуться, кажуть було татуньо, веселитимуться до останньої години; нікому й у голову не прийде, що ангел іде й печаті несе; кохатимуться, женитимуться й гадки не матимуть: осліпить сатана. І блажен тільки той, кого обрящет бдяща, - закінчила паніматка й зложила руки до Бога.

Дійшло до смаку панотцеві, він і озвався:

- Та й Мартин Задека пише багато. Він каже: що Москва взойдеть не височайший градус; що духовное владеніе прыйдеть во изможденіе, и законы ослабіють. Воно б, бачся, і так! Та ще жидови чимало не світі зосталось, а в останні часи вони всі вихристяться... От що! То я й думаю, що до того ще далеко.

- Безпрестанно молітеся, пишеться в письмі святім, - заговорила паніматка, - майтесь на осторожності, бо не вісте ні дня, ні часа, у вогонь же син чоловіческий прийдеть.

- В який вогонь? То в онь же! - поправив отець, - ніби то: в котрий."

ст. 60 - "Не дарма мої татуньо покійні - а твій дідуньо - було розказують, що як зближиться страшний суд і матиме анцихрист народитись, то всюди будуть школи, будуть ученики й учителі. А то будуть не ученики, а мученики; не вчителі, а мучителі."

ст. 60 - "- От, почала вона, - ці моди! Ніхто й не чував про них, а покійні татуньо все знали - з якихось книжок вичитували - і кажуть було, що в останні времена жіноча стать убиратиметься, аки біси."

ст. 65 - "Не дарма покійні татуньо було розказують, що зближиться страшний суд, то світ обернеться очима назад, а потилицею наперед."

ст. 76 - "А паніматка слухає та й думає: отсе ж то й є, що в святім письмі написано: як будете злі, то вкорочу вам."

ст. 88 - "А мати пішла, згадуючи свого татуня, як то покійні розказували, що як зближиться анцихрист, то встане мати на дочку, а дочка на матір свою."

ст. I28 - "Не даремне мої покійні татуньо - хай їм царство небесне - було кажуть, що в одній хаті житиме кіт, миш і собака. Отсе ж так воно й є!"

ст. I45 - " - Господи, слава тобі! - заговорила вона, хрестячись, і додала: - Покійні татуньо було все кажуть нам: ак би ви, діточки, в манастир пішли, то лучче б було: зійде син Божий судити, то з чим перед Ним станете? ... не дурно покійні татуньо було розказують, що жіночі душі скакатимуть у пекло, як іскри з кременя від доброго кресала."

ст. I54 - "... - отже, добре покійні татуньо кажуть було, що як Бог дасть, то й у вікно подасть..."

ст. I54 - "- Не даремне мої покійні татуньо кажуть було: - день радости взридаєте і восплачитеся! Так воно й є: щоб радіти, а в нас сльози ллються."

ст. I99 - "Добре мої татуньо покійні - а твій уже дідуньо - розказують було, що буде горе, горе й горе людям, живущим на землі... З якихось книжок покійні вичитували. Тепер уже й не чути за такі книжки, попереводили..."

ст. I99 - "... буду поносити татуня, бо покійні правду казали. От і це кажуть було, що в останні часи встане дщер на маму свою..."

ст. 2I8 - "-Господи, Господи! Покійні татуньо розказували було ... що в пеклі душка виснажиться, вишквариться, що вже й муки до неї не пристають. Тоді й виймуть її з вогню, викинуть на вітер; обвіє нещасливу, і вона знов відійде, тіла набереться та краси. От тоді й знов у жар її..."

ст. 2I8 - "- В письмі святім написано, що там буде »плач і скрежет зубов« і таке, що й у голову не забродило, і на серце не заходило. Претерпивий до кінця, - додала хрестячись, - спасен будет."

ст. 227 - "Добре покійні татуньо розказували, ще то й твій тато покійний це знав... Кажуть було обидва, що духовне владеніє прийдеть во ізможденіє..."

C. Conventional phrases -- appearing in the order of their appearance in chapter four of this study

ст. I3 - "... благословіть... отче чесний! - Боже, благослови!..."

ст. 8I - "- Здорова... була!
- A! Jak sie masz!

ст. 224 - "- Здорові були...
- ... о дай вам, Боже, здоров'ячка!..."

ст. 39 - "- А де ти взявся?..."

ст. I43 - "- А ти купуватимеш що, чи так звідкіль Бог провадить?"

ст. I82 - "- Ким це розносила лиха година? - озвалась мати..."

ст. I82 - "- Як же вас тут Бог милує на селі? - каже.
- Слава Богу, ні на що скаржитись, - відказала Галя.
- Слава Богу! - озвався Антосьо."

ст. 220 - "Чи далеко Бог провадить?"

ст. 63 - "- Niech bedzie pochwalony Jezus Chrystus - привітала вона, тицьнувши...
- На віки віков, амінь! - відказала панiматка."

ст. I54 - "Слава Богу милосердному..."

ст. 2I7 - "Слава Богу, що так сталось..."

ст. I57 - "Господи, Господи! Що то буде?"

ст. 218 - "Господи, Господи!"

ст. 233 - "... Боже, Боже, Боже!"

ст. 218 - "Боже, Боже!..."

ст. 219 - "Господи милосердний!..."

ст. 219 - "Боже мій милостивий!"

ст. 145 - "Господи, слава тобі! - заговорила вона, хрестячись..."

ст. 145 - "Бог зна що!"

ст. 227 - "... а куди, то Бог його знає."

ст. 229 - "- Ет, Бог знає що!
- І я скажу: Бог знає, що говориш!..."

ст. 74 - "... може то - Дух святий з нами!...
- Не йдіть, паночe, - каже Сава, - може то нечиста сила, аби вас у пролиз заманити."

ст. 119 - "Це чорт, не дитина! Дух святий зо мною!"

ст. 203 - "Доню, доню! Бог з тобою!...

ст. 71 - "Ще пани хай би собі вигадували, - на те вони багаті; а таким, як ми - Бог з ним!"

ст. 207 - "Рятуйте, хто в Бога вірує!"

ст. 201 - "Дай йому, Господи, як найлучче!..."

ст. 203 - "Дай тобі, Боже, і на цім світі рай..."

ст. 178 - "Ще й за твого батька покійного - хай там царствує..."

ст. 205 - "Коли б дав Бог милосердний!"

ст. 204 - "І почне молитись: - Дай Боже, щоб була багата, як земля; здорова, як вода; велична, як хліб святий!..."

ст. 10 - "Дай Вам, Боже, і на рік мати, а нам у Вас робить діждати."

ст. 97 - "... все Боже воля."

ст. 201 - ""Це вже воля Божа... От дай нам Боже здоров'я! - заговорив, наливаючи в чарку..."

ст. 234 - "Дай же нам, Боже, здоров'я, а помершим вічний упокой!
- Со святими упокой душі усобших раб своїх і рабинь і ієреїв!..."

ст. 46-7 - "Випили по чарці, що один Бог, далі по другій.
- Що ж, - кажуть, - варт чоловік без пари?
- Та Бог в Тройці перебуває!
- Та хіба в нас не чотири євангелисти?
- Е, як на руці чотири пальці, то каліка: треба щоб п'ять було.
- Шість день Бог творив світ.
- А в сьомий почив од всіх діл своїх.
- Та не так бо, - каже Люборацька, - а ось як: премудрость созда собі дом і утверди стовпів сім.
- Га-а-а! Добре, мамуню, ей-Богу добре! - заговорив гість, хитаючись та хапаючись цілувати її в руку.
Поставили й »сьомий стовп«... А як долічились через дванадцять апостолів, чотирнадцять посланій Павлових та зближались до сорока святих, то й самі стовпами поставали. І на день засіріло.
- Пора мені додому, - каже гість.
- Та ще по чарці! - заговорив о. Гервасій.
- По одній, - додала його паніматка, - щоб знаєте... А! - додала, - хай нашим ворогам тяжко!..."

ст. 168 - "Нате ж вам кому на живицю, кому дудку прополоскати."

ст. 130 - "Ходім вже з жалю та вип'єм!"

ст. 214 - "... ой гоя, гоя, в останній раз!
- Дай, Боже, щасливо! - гукнула решта. Антосьо з цим вихилив чарку..."

ст. 17 - "Лишенько моє!"

ст. 136 - "Нещастя моє!"

ст. 231 - "Доле ж моя неприкаянна!"

ст. 204 - "Гірка твоя доля нещасная!"

ст. I36 - "Бідна ж моя головонька!..."

ст. 59 - "А, лиха моя година!"

ст. 203 - "- Будьте здорові!...
- Хай тебе Бог благословить!... Будь здорова!..."

ст. 48 - "- Пора їхати! Пора! - каже гість...
- Пождіть, кумцю! Ще хвилиночку! - просить паніматка.
- Ні вже! Бувайте здорові!
- Та сядьте бо, щоб старости сідали!"

ст. I4 - "Чого так очі вивалила!"

ст. I76 - "О, за вовка помовка..."

ст. 226 - "О Господи! Чи я в таку годину виїхав, чи що!"

ст. 228 - "Що за лукавий світ!... Що за темний люд!"

ст. 209 - "Насіли, як годиться, по-чеськи: »Голова, кажуть, свячена, то її накрити!...«"

ст. I25 - "Та що кому до того?"

ст. 44 - "От тобі й раз!"

ст. 63 - "От тобі й дурень..."

ст. 225; 227 - "От тобі й радість!"

ст. 97 - "От нам і на руку."

ст. II3 - "Чорт знає що..."

ст. 2I3 - "Цитьте но!"

D. Proverbial Expressions -- in alphabetical order

Багатий
ст. I60 - "I всі, хто чим багатий - хто недоїдок червивого яблука, хто..."

Біда
ст. 57 - "Хоч востаннє свою біду потішите."
232 - "Тепер я на біду граю та на злидні."
236 - "... ми й збули біду з села..."

Біс
ст. I39 - "Та де в біса грошей узяти?"

Бог
ст. 46 - "А він хіба з Богом говорив?"
I36 - "... а що зернят усюди, то вже й Бог забув."
I80 - "I Бога не боїтесь і людей не соромитесь..."
230 - "Ще-сь, доню, не спіймала Бога за ноги!"
280 - "Тихома...тим скривдив громаду, що зробив своїм богом."
23I - "Коли б нам до корчми як Бог допоміг."
234 - "... Бог таку долю судив, як вашій Орисі..."

Борщ
ст. 54 - "А хто скаже: кому з нас не останній раз завтра мати борщу наварить?"

Бурян
ст. 57 - "Заросла буряном Стецькова хата..."

Бути
ст. I02 - "... тільки слава ходила, що були та й загули."

Вила
ст. I84 - "... ще кінець курсу вилами був написаний."

Вікно
ст. I8 - "... та не знав більше світа, що у вікні."
88 - "... думаєте, що тільки й світа, що в вікні!"

Вітер
ст. I47 - "Шурнула й Орися, тільки вітер повіяв."

Віщо
ст. 49 - "... паніматка також потом обливалась... Мася ні в віщо не входила."

Вода
ст. 9 - "Нема в світі більш празного люду, як деякі панотці: ні за холодну воду не візьметься."
87 - "А ніколи й за холодну воду не бралась."
I8I - "... гойдається на колесі, задумавшись, і щоб за холодну воду взявся!"

Волосся
ст. I46 - "Brutal, - каже сама до себе і мало волосся не рве..."

Ворота
ст. 72 - "Чи в ворота, чи через перелази, а ця штука дійшла до Масі."

Вус
ст. 90 - "І щоб котрий вусом моргнув абощо..."
9I - "... ляхи, щоб котрий вусом моргнув, то ні."

Вухо
ст. I37 - "А Антосьо й вухом не вів..."

В'язи
ст. 95 - "... ви вже далі-далі онучат дружитимете, а в мене ще й діти мої сиріточки на в'язах висять!"

Гладити
ст. II0 - "Такого вже гладять, і все проти шерсти."

Голова
ст. II - "Дасть же Бог таку голову на в'язи!"
46 - "Та дурна твоя голова жіноча..."
65 - "... ніколи й у голову пошкрябатись - не знаєм світові ладу."
79 - "Вчися, сину, бо тільки й твого, що в голові матимеш."
89 - "... Іван уже, як думав він, голова на всю околицю..."
89 - "Поїхати такому між дівчата, то рівно з головою."
II5 - "І голова не заболить!"
II5 - "Викинь собі з голови!"
I39 - "На розпрощання поставили могоричу... і зашуміло в голові."
I49 - "Я не маю коли й в голову пошкрябатись."
I72 - "... зашуміло в голові, то вже лиш подавай."
20I - "А що в світі діється... Не наша голова в тім!"

Горіх
ст. 2I7 - "... інспектор... наговорив на нього сім міхів горіхів."

Горобець
ст. I24 - "І з ким учора горобці дер, сьогодні й поглянути не хоче."

Господь
ст. 56 - "... Господь прийняв їх до Себе..."

Губа
ст. 79 - "... виросла, що з якого боку, не зайди, дівчина на всю губу..."
89 - "... Іван уже, як думав він, голова на всю околицю, чоловік на всю губу..."
I36 - "... лаяла-лаяла, а він і губи не роззявив."
I54 - "Ти вже й розв'язала губу..."

Губити
ст. 204 - "Втопила я тебе, доню! Згубила твій вік молодий!"

Гуси
ст. 7 - "... ті гуси, що носом ворота підкидають."

Ґудз
ст. 25 - "... згинайтесь, ... аби ми ґудза не набили."

Ґудзик
ст. I4I - "... ішов Антосьо, виштатуваний на останній ґудзик..."

Двері
ст. I5 - "За цим у дівочу голову почали й старости навертатись: і двері від них не зачиняються."

Дерти
ст. 208 - "І громаді не легко було, бо дер з живого та й з умерлого."

Джміль
ст. I35 - "Вже джмілів слухає?"

Дорога
ст. 42 - "... споришу нарвав, посипав перед конякою... Ге! Чогось не їсть! Мабуть, дорогу чує..."

Дошка
ст. 225 - "Тільки й заробила в свого Тимохи, що чотири дошки..."

Дух
ст. 62 - "... поторгала дверми, - ні духу не чути..."
I96 - "... коні біжать, духу пускаються..."
II9 - "Любили старші Антося за його штуки, піддавали йому духу..."

Душа
ст. I06 - "... Антосеві все холодніло та й холодніло в душі!"
207 - "Як ударить, то сама чую, що чуточку гірше, то й душа вискочить!"

Жати
ст. 98 - "Тепер мали жати пани богослови, що сіяли та й сіяли..."

Живий
ст. I06 - "... ходили ті старші... ні живі, ні мертві."
I23 - "... стоїть ні живий, ні мертвий."
I86 - "Чи жив-здоров, чи нездужає?"

Закуритися
ст. II5 - "... вибриком лиш закурилось."
225 - "... драпонув поза хату, тільки закурилось."

Замок
ст. I7I - "... що говори, а все за замком."

Здорова
ст. 27 - "... здибала жінку, таку здорову з себе, що куди!"

Земля
ст. I98 - "Текля стоїть, землі під собою не чує..."

Зима
ст. 55 - "Хоч з торбами підемо, та прейма матимем де зіму зімувати."

Зрости
ст. II8 - "Так і зріс він ні до чого."

Зуб
ст. II5 - "Мій тато зуба з'їв на паламарстві..."
II9 - "... він »спросив« Антося, а цей ні в зуб."
20I - "... Мася з матір'ю зуб-на-зуб стинається."

Їсти
ст. I8 - "... а їсти як зварить, то не від'їсишся!.."

Казка
ст. 229 - "Без сорома казка - он де двері, або випхаю!"

Каша
ст. 20I - "... ця не дасть собі в кашу наплювати..."

Кишеня
ст. 2I0 - "... він купив заводило, бо захотів кишеню собі полатати."

Краще
ст. I98 - "... Господи, Господи!... В людяного шинкаря й у корчмі краще!"

Кров
ст. 223 - "... на щоках кров грала."
87 - "... останню краплю крови, як то кажуть, тягла з матері та все садила на крами."

Кури
ст. 92 - "Як довідались, що богослов, то так і розігнали курей на сідалі."
208 - "Вже здавна громада гула на Тимоху, а тепер і кури закричали."

Лад
ст. 65 - "... ми, хлібороби: ніколи й у голову пошкрябатись - не знаєм світові ладу."
87 - "А коли не знаєте світові ладу, то не мішайтесь!"

Лід
ст. I8I - "Лучче б були під лід пустили."

Лити
ст. 9 - "Є такі пани, що на попа тільки помий не ллють, та є й попи, що луччого не варті."

Лоб
ст. 70 - "На колишніх товаришок, сільських дівчат, і з-під лоба не поглянула..."

Людський
ст. I5 - "Я останню хвостину здубу, аби й ти на людських дітей походила."

Лютий
ст. 73 - "А надворі тим часом січень - чи ж другі звуть - лютий був наскінчу."

Лямка
ст. 220 - "- А ще довго лямку терти!
- Вже дотер."

Минути
ст. 204 - "Тільки тій сходило, а цій не минулось..."

Молодший
ст. 2I9 - "... а йому, трохи молодшому за світ..."

Морда
ст. I48 - "Скипів панотець - от би в морду заїхав!.."

Море
ст. 84 - "... його благословенство й зо дня моря
витягає, і з тяжкої неволі визволить."

Навин
ст. 43 - "Коли б хто мав силу Навина..."

Ніс
ст. 87 - "... до своєї церкви й носа не показувала..."
96 - "Хоч такого, що й під носом йому не світає..."
I24 - "Аби тільки в четверту клясу перейшов, то
наче не той хлопець стане: задере носа, що
куди!"
I60 - "... пташка з закованим носом!
- Хто це!...
- Донощик..."
I89 - "... балакав з гімназистом про їх життя й
бодай носом зачув, що є в світі воля й щось
луччого за семінарське життя."
2I0 - "... щоб на місце Тимоха прислали попа хоч
сякого-такого: хоч такого, що йому й під
носом не свитає, аби вже хоч не кацап."
38 - "... зімою: з-під кожуха й носа не виставити!"
I49 - "От поправ півзиня під носом! Ще-сь до того
не доріс, щоб матір навчати."
I60 - "... той балакав про екзамин, що висів на
носі..."
I92 - "... тільки спльовує з серця, що такий звірок
з-під носа умкнув."

Ніч
ст. 2I4 - "Минула ніч, що й не оглянулась..."
2I4 - "Минула ніч, і друга не забарилась."
2I4 - "... ніч не стоїть - іде, не оглядається..."

Нога
ст. I69 - "- Хутше ж!
- На одній нозі..."

Ночувати
ст. 73 - "Ніч ночував він, де йому Бог поміг..."

Облизати
ст. I5 - "... аж Росолинщанки пальчики облизуватимуть."

Око
ст. I4 - "... дивилась на нього на все око..."
72 - "Не знав неборак, що пан тільки в очі свічив..."
I36 - "... не сміла сказати ні старшому в очі, ні смотрителеві..."
I37 - "... він і не показався їй на очі."
I8I - "... де тільки міг, всюди розказував про нього правду - і в лице й поза очі."
I86 - "Семінаристи не пишуть листів до панянок, бо раз, що товариство очі викололо б тим письмом..."
205 - "... то так очі замию, що й свічкою не пізнати."

Паля
ст. 46 - "... не за кожним разом таку палю забивали, хоча й на сухо ніхто не виїжджав."

Паска
ст. 52 - "... їй стукнула тридцята паска..."

Печінки
ст. I7 - "Доїли ж ви мені до живих печінок."
I70 - "... та кому те зубриння не доїсть до живих печінок?"
2I5 - "... вже-сьте з'їли нам до живих печінок."

Підошва
ст. 56 - "... набирались лиха й підошви й передки."

Піт
ст. 87 - "З матері останні поти ллються..."

Плечі
ст. 200 - "... віддавайте, коли беруть... Зате вам з плечей злізе."

Плюнути
ст. 70 - "... наче чужа... нікому й на слід не плюнула."
I87 - "... подумаєш, що філософ Бог-зна який пан, - і через губу не плюне."

Покій
ст. I4 - "... дай мені чистий покій!"
I49 - "Та дай мені чистий покій!..."

Покійничок
ст. 233 - "Умер покійничок!..."

Покотитися
ст. 56 - "... з журби та з лиха такі і покотились."

Поли
ст. І07 - "... чкурнув у пашні аж засвистіло, тільки поли мають."

По-слизькому
ст. ІІ9 - "Любили старші Антося за його штуки... а він і пішов та й пішов по слизькому..."

Постановити
ст. І77 - "Мав же він до себе, що як постановить зробити що, то вже зробить..."

Правда
ст. І36 - "... не сміла сказати... бо як не правда, то буде їй лихий світ."
І72 - "А цьому до правди, як людям до сонця."

Принести
ст. І68 - "Коли б його принесло хоч на крилу вітренному..."

Пустиня
ст. І47 - "... ми ж не в пустині живемо!"

Ректи
ст. 52 - "Не трудно було вдоволити її, маючи панську власть: - рече й биша!"

Різати
ст. 206 - "І з цього часу явно став проти Тихома... - просто й ріже."

Розпук
ст. 84 - "... реготались до розпуку..."

Розум
ст. 57 - "... і дітей учила, і до розуму їх доводила."
87 - "Що тобі таке? - казала мати. - Чи ти сповна розуму?"
88 - "Догуляєшся ти з своїм розумом."
97 - "... на розум йому не збувало."

Роса
ст. І86 - "... сльози - та Божа роса..."

Руки
ст. 99 - "Як би всі за одною, можна б руки погріти!"

Світ
ст. 56 - "За ними й каліка на той світ перебралась."
I97 - "... зневаживши цей світ, на той перебрався."

Святі
ст. I86 - "... її батько як би спостеріг, то було б бідній сорок святих і Юра, аж попадалась шкура."

Серце
ст. I92 - "... тільки спльовує з серця, що такий звірок з-під носа умкнув."

Сила
ст. 2I2 - "... скиньмось по силах."

Слинка
ст. I5I - "Другий треться коло неї, а я слинку ковтаю."

Слід
ст. I3I - "Ми його приймем, що й сліду не знайти."

Слово
ст. 205 - "... і йому ніхто ні слова, ні півслова."

Смерть
ст. 233 - " Не своєю смертю я вмираю..."

Снитися
ст. I52 - "... з таким смаком з'їв, який Галі й не снився."

Содом
ст. 202 - "А в хаті заїдня, колотнечі: содома піднялась, що й не сказати..."

Сокіл
ст. I78 - "Впустили сокола, то й цяцькайтесь."

Соломон
ст. 229 - "Тоді вже поплелось на гурт, що й сам Соломон ладу б не дійшов..."

Сонце
ст. 20 - "... попівна, як не вміє по-ляцьки, то не варта й того, щоб на неї сонце світило."

Сто
ст. 97 - "... сто раз лучче..."

Сухо
ст. 48 - "... ніхто й на сухо не виїжджав. Такий уже звичай."

Талан
ст. 23I - "Не дав Бог моїм дітям талану, то треба пектись..."
234 - "Було ще три дочки, та й їм Бог талану не дав..."

Теплий
ст. I20 - "... ходив з »бакенами« й сік, доки теплий."

Терно
ст. 95 - "Мало що терном не вросла колись бита доріженька до о. Гервасія."

Тінь
ст. 204 - "... вже Орися жила, а тінь її ходила.."

Торба
ст. 55 - "Хоч з торбами підемо, та прейма матимем де зіму зімувати."

Трава
ст. I04 - "... густа розкішна трава - ні жнеться, ні коситься."

Тремтіти
ст. I06 - "... тремтіли за свою шкуру."

Уступити
ст. 20I - "Та воно правда, що ця нікому з дороги не вступить..."

Утопити
ст. 97 - "... мав надію, що архирей своєю властю скаже кому женитись, то хто-небудь і втопить свою голову."
204 - "Втопила я тебе, доню!"

Учистити
ст. II6 - "Розтягли сірому й вчистили мало не копу."

Хліб
ст. 46 - "Нікому не жалують хліба-соли."

Хустку
ст. 22I - "А я гарну тобі дівчину за хустку виміняю!"

Час
ст. 78 - "А час не йшов, а летів... і пролетів."

ст. III - "... час промайнув, що й не оглянулись."
228 - "Не час, не годину розмовляв неборак..."
230 - "Не йшов час - летів час."

Чоловік
ст. I37 - "... чоловік, яких рідко..."

Чудо
ст. 2I3 - "Та це буде восьме чудо в світі!"

Чужина
ст. 49 - "... щоб дитина не мліла голодом в чужині..."
60 - "... ти в школах будеш, в чужині; як не купиш, то не з'їси."

Чутки
ст. I86 - "... від милого чутки немає - ні вітер не повіє, ні птах не принесе..."

Щастя
ст. 86 - "... на щастя сиротам й не заснітилось."

Язик
ст. 70 - "... кожне щебече, що на язик набіжить."
I6I - "Язиком мели, що хоч, а рукам волі не давай!"
I62 - "... »Чи не ти язика присолодив?«... Не Дух же Святий навиває інспектора!"
I8I - "... проклинаючи всіх і все, хто й що під язик вискочить."

E. Proverbial Comparisons -- in alphabetical order

1. *Jak* Formula

Барабан
ст. 55 - "В селі як у барабан ударив..."

Батіг
ст. 43 - "Промайнули вакації, як з батога тріснув..."
IOI - "П'ять літ - як з батога траснув..."

Брилянти
ст. 2I4 - "... по горах, як брилянти самоцвітні, капками роса бренить та миготить."

Буг
ст. 76 - "... не вернеться, що минлось, хоч хай сльози ллються, як Буг тече."

Буряк
ст. 73 - "... нема такого буряка червоного, як вона."

Вестися
ст. 86 - "... все мали, як ведеться."

Великдень
ст. I2 - "І ждала того Кирика й Улити, як Великодня."

Веселка
ст. I98 - "... як веселка стала гожа та рум'яна."

Виклад
ст. 2II - "... списки, як смертний виклад, кінчають долю клясника."

Вирости
ст. I95 - "... поставить для духу з півока; і проповідь як виросла."

Вискочить
ст. 75 - "А душа йому як не вискочить."
I63 - "... а серце йому як не вискочить."
I88 - "... тільки серце як не вискочить."

Вичитувати
ст. 92 - "... розказував, як з книжки вичитував."

Віск
ст. 235 - "... пожовкла, як віск..."

Вкопаний
ст. I82 - "... став, як вкопаний..."
29 - "Діти стояли, як повкопувані..."

Вогонь
ст. 27 - "... сердитий... як вогонь..."

Вода
ст. 57 - "... Явтух як у воду впав..."
I28 - "Як розприскається мій Антосьо! Е, як та вода на потоках бурлить, що ні спинку, ні гаманцю не має..."
228 - "Чоловік для жінки, як дерево для птиці, земля для трави, вода для риби..."

Гадина
ст. I89 - "... засичав, як гадина в гною..."

Гарбуз
ст. 93 - "... а я, каже, - качався, як гарбуз."

Гармата
ст. 230 - "... вистрілило з нього, як з гармати."

Глина
ст. 28 - "... син... йшов білий, як глина."

Гніздо
ст. I56 - "... хата прилипла до скали, як ластівчане гніздо під стріхою..."

Годитися
ст. 86 - "Справили обід, як годиться..."
I39 - "Поздоровкавшись з купцем, як годиться..."

Горіх
ст. 38 - "... а здолини церква виказувалась, у садку, як горіх з гранки..."

Горобець
ст. I4I - "... сидів, як горобець на колі, поки не зженуть."
I89 - "Ну, світик мой! Порхнєш же ти у меня, как воробєй із гнєздишка."

Горох
ст. 88 - "... себе так високо ставила, що всі проти неї, як горошина проти скали якої."
2I8 - "... покотились сльози, як горох."
II - "... читав, як горохом сипле..."

Грім
ст. 83 - "Як громом прибило Масю, так цими словами..."

Гуси
ст. I65 - "Всі сидять підряд, як гуси при березі."

Джміль
ст. 98 - "... як джмілі гули: все басом говорили."
I70 - "Десь то хтось то бренів, у кутку, як джміль восени."

Дзвін
ст. I2I - "... один як дзвінок прочитав: »Царю небесний«."
I99 - "... в селі як у дзвони вдарив, що Кулинський ... хоче женитись на... Масі."

Дзеркало
ст. 120 - "... чорнило... лискуче таке, як дзеркало."

Дитина
ст. 188 - "... полумінь... бігає, хлипає, никає по грубці... точка-в-точку, як дитина в траві, лиш не чути »куку«."
206 - "... мати... думає, що можна залякати Тимоху, як плакущу дитину дідом, чи чим другим."

Додому
ст. 9 - "... ходив до нього, як додому."

Долоня
ст. 224 - "... видко було, як на долоні."
106 - "Вже місто видно було, як на долоні..."

Дощ
ст. 76 - "... сльози такі дорідливі, як дощ перед градом..."

Дунай
ст. 124 - "Були вони [шараварки]... як Дунай широкі..."

Жаба
ст. 217 - "... а котрі [донощики] зостались, то притихли, як жаба перед дощем, - ні крюкне."

Жар
ст. 51 - "... жилетка червона, як жар..."
185 - "... лице... горіло, як жар..."
233 - "А очі, як жаринки, так і горять, так і палають!"

Жива
ст. 151 - "... знайшов таку хорошу [грушу]... з одного боку жовта, а з другого рум'яна, як жива."

Жидівка
ст. 179 - "... договорила молодицю воду носити, як жидівка."

Заєць
ст. 100 - "... панотці так і чмигають сюди з дикатерськими, як зайці в горох."
95 - "... я не з тих, щоб гриз книжку, як заєць щепи."

Заріз
ст. 106 - "Іде Антосьо, як на заріз..."

Зварений
ст. I9I - "От і Антосьо... сидів, як зварений..."

Земля
ст. 204 - "І почне молитись: - Дай Боже, щоб була багата, як земля; здорова, як вода..."
I05 - "... зник, як крізь землю пішов..."
228 - "Чоловік для жінки... як земля для трави..."

Зоря
ст. II - "... три дівчини, як зорі ходили..."
I5 - "Вона... як зоря рясна..."
2I7 - "... ходила, як зірочка..."

Зуб
ст. 57 - "... вирвавши її з-межи дівчат-селючок, як зуб з ясен, на лихо та на безголов'я.

Індик
ст. 98 - "... поважно ступав, як індик."
I32 - "... спустив носа, як індик."

Каганець
ст. I29 - "... очі світились, як каганці."

Казан
ст. 27 - "... [в хаті] закипіло, як у казані."
98 - "... тут, як у казані було."
I59 - "Іноді тут як у казані кипить."

Камінний
ст. 226 - "Антосьо сидів, як камінний..."

Камчатка
ст. I92 - "А в душі йому, як у Камчатці..."

Качка
ст. 70 - "Сама не ходить, а пливе, як качка по воді..."

Квітка
ст. 7 - "І церква в селі, як квіточка вбрана..."
50 - "... нічого не крила в собі, бо й нічого було, як квіточці гожій в зеленім гаю."
2I7 - "... покачувалась, як квітка."

Кільце
ст. 57 - "... а село з селом, як кільце з кільцем в ланцюгу зв'язується."

Кінь
ст. I83 - "... в ногах таку силу почув, що покатав, як на поштарських конях..."

Кіт
ст. 29 - "... очі світяться, як у кота, - здається, оті кинеться, як кіт на мишу."
5I - "... в очах світилось щось котячого, мов би так і кинеться, як кіт на мишку."
2I5 - "Ректор і інспектор в семінаріях звичаєм живуть, як кіт з собакою..."

Кобила
ст. I46 - "... Тихома й цю [Орисю] обдивився зо всіх боків, як кобилу на торзі."

Коза
ст. I58 - "... скачуть, як дикі кози..."

Королик
ст. I88 - "... жар-жар... моргає, як королик, вусами..."

Корси
ст. 82 - "... [чоботи] в нього, як собаки, руді, і на бік, як корси."

Крейда
ст. II3 - "... тим все біліший робився... як крейда став..."

Кури
ст. I62 - "... кинулись у розліт, як курчата від шуляка..."
I80 - "А ми, бувало, в свого татуня, як курчата, вкупці-вкупочці."
2II - "... і голодні кури або жаждущі качки не так кидаються до зерна, до води, як ці кинулись до лавок за шапками."

Лисиця
ст. I02 - "З Антося був хлопець... хитрий, як лисиця."

Лист
ст. I97 - "... а що навкруги діється, до цього діла, як до того листочка, що вітер поніс."

Лід
ст. 2I7 - "Остався інспектор як на льоду..."

Лоша
ст. I04 - "... йшов - от, як лоша за возом."

Лук
ст. 204 - "... щоб мене спрягло, як з луга!..."

Людський
ст. 56 - "Та хай лучче пропадає, аби як людські
діти, аніж по-собачому."

Маківочка
ст. 79 - "... вона... як маківочка повна..."

Масло
ст. I0 - "Чарочку кожна молодиця п'є... а там пішло
як по маслі, сказано - м'якеньке: ні кусати
ні жувати."

Мачуха
ст. 73 - "... сонечко гріє, як мачуха голубить."

Машина
ст. I89 - "... почав, як машина, що торкнули..."

Метарство
ст. I57 - "... екзамен, що як метарство..."

Мільйонер
ст. I32 - "... з пихою, як який мільйонер, заговорив
Антосьо."

Мішок
ст. I60 - "... виймаючи з голови, як з мішка, різні
штуки минулого життя."

Молдаван
ст. I03 - "... бігаєш, як жоден молдаван не побіжить."

Молот
ст. 230 - "Як молотом межи очі, так йому списки вдались..."

Муха
ст. 29 - "Душа, було, завмре, зовсім завмре, як муха
восени."
I21 - "... тихо, що чути, як муха летить."

Намальована
ст. I76 - "... дівчина, як намальована, стала перед
очима..."

Неживий
ст. I55 - "А Тимоха, як неживий, мовчав."

Несамовитий
ст. I76 – "... як чкурнув з сіней, то погнався, як
несамовитий..."

Овечка
ст. 202 – " Co to znaczy nauka! A ьyla ьy glupia, jak
owieczka..."

I90 – "Затупотіли всі, як овечки..."

Око
ст. 228 – "Шануватиму тебе, як око в голові..."

Онуча
ст. I26 – "... вийняв хустину... як онуча."

Оселедці
ст. – "... в тій кімнатці, де одна на другій,
як оселедці в бочці..."

Останній
ст. 6I – "... злають, як останнього..."

Павич
ст. 87 – "Вбирались, як павич..."

Павук
ст. I9 – "... заплутав панотця, як павук муху."

Палець
ст. I58 – "... сам був, як палець: ні розказати, ні
розпитати."

Плач
ст. II7 – "... в горлі заболіло, як перед плачем..."

Побиті
ст. 66 – "... спали як побиті, хоч повинось їх..."

Пола
ст. I56 – "... інша [хата] під каменюкою стоїть, як
під полою в батька."

Поясок
ст. 24 – "... піддашок, як червоний поясок..."

Полетіти
ст. 33 – "І Антосьо як на вітрі полетить."

Прив'язь
ст. 39 – "Як би вдома, то побігав би, а там нидіє, як
на прив'язі."

Пришиблена
ст. 84 - "... ходила, як пришиблена..."

Птах
ст. I85 - "... рушила садком, як птах летить."

Рай
ст. I97 - "І на душі легко та тихо та блаженно, як у Божому раю."

Рак
ст. I64 - "... долоні... червоні були, як раки."

Реп'ях
ст. I53 - "... Антосьо державсь її, як реп'ях."

Риба
ст. 29 - "... серце б'ється, як рибка на гачку."
2II - "... залягти, як риба на дощ, що ні грім ні туча з місця не зрушить."

Рушниця
ст. 230 - "... набитий був, як рушниця..."

Садочок
ст. I98 - "... в хаті стало, як у садочку: і зелено, і запашно, і свіжо-свіжо, аж наче вогко."

Свиня
ст. I27 - "... пилі сколька... як на свиняччім стегні..."

Свічка
ст. 33 - "Ви чого стоїте, як свічки?"
I55 - "А справда і зліва ліс чорний та темний, грабина, як свічки..."
233 - "Не докінчив, голуб сизий, хлипнув тай погас, як свічка на водосвяттю..."

Сирота
ст. I56 - "... хатина тулиться під нею, як сирота під тином."

Сич
ст. I66 - "... понадувались, як сичі на сльоту..."

Смерть
ст. I22 - "А ще коли там, як смерть тебе не мине, так не минеш спекуляторських рук."
I46 - "Воля владики, як смерть - ні відпросишся, ні відмолишся!"

Сніг
ст. – "... правди й заразом не видати, як торішнього снігу."

Собака
ст. – "... [чоботи] в нього, як собаки, руді..."

Соловейко
ст. I95 – "... співає, як соловейко..."

Сонце
ст. I95 – "... хороша, як схід сонця..."

Стадо
ст. 228 – "І самі, як стадо яке: тільки їдять, їдяться та множаться..."

Статуй
ст. I22 – "... як статуї сидять."

Стіл
ст. I04 – "... все видно, як на столі..."

Стовп
ст. 29 – "Діти стояли, як повкопувані... як стовп – щоб поворухнувся!"

Тарілка
ст. 8 – "... то все видно, як на тарілці."

Татарва
ст. 203 – "... а то ще й осталось після відданиці, як після татарви..."

Той
ст. 92 – "Як не той став хлопець..."

Трава
ст. I66 – "То ретарва й хилиться, як трава за вітром, та ще й не шелестить."

Туман
ст. 2I4 – "... отець інспектор лізе в очі, як туман..."

Турчин
ст. 9 – "... вірив у пана, як турчин у місяць..."
46 – "А чого ж ти віриш у нього, як турчин у місяць?"

Туча
ст. 208 – "... притих би, як надворі перед тучою..."

Тьма
ст. I48 – " ... скарбові лушпайки лізуть на світло, як тьма."

Убогий
ст. I20 – "... набереш, як убогий у торбу."

Уродитися
ст. 53 – "... люлька як уродилась."

Хліб
ст. 204 – "I почне молитись: – Дай Боже, щоб була... велична, як хліб святий."
2II – "Попівство, як хліба шматок певний..."

Хорт
ст. I06 – "... тремтів... як хорт на дворі восени..."

Цвинтар
ст. 5I – "... випровадили товаришку, як на цвинтар."

Цвіт
ст. 38 – "А вік – як маків цвіт."

Цуцик
ст. 89 – "... третій, як цуцик, служив перед нею."
2I7 – "... штовхали, щипали, шарпали, як те цуценя: кусь, та й утікло!"

Чапля
ст. 70 – "... стоїть... на тонких ніжках, як чапля, або журавель."

Чашечка
ст. I97 – "... у хаті, як у чашечці, чисто та біло та чепурно."

Черепаха
ст. 83 – "... вміли вони в таку шкуру вбратись, як черепаха, що й сокирою до живого не доколупаєшся!"

Череп'яний
ст. 209 – "... дзвін вдався, як череп'яний."

Шалений
ст. 2II – "... брикав за гуртом, як шалений..."

Шкурлат
ст. I25 – "Чого дметься, як шкурлат на жару?"

Шпилька
ст. I9 – "Як на шпильки посадив бідного панотця..."

Ягідка
ст. 72 – "... Мася рум'яна була, як ягідка."
80 – "Ти ж, доню, така була, як ягідка..."
2I7 – "... похорошіла, як ягідка; ходила, як зірочка; покачувалась, як квітка."

Яйце
ст. 58 – "... ґудз, як голуб'яче яйце."

Янгол
ст. I95 – "... добра-добра, як янгол!"

2. Až Formula

Бік
ст. 89 – "... всі аж за боки беруться."
2I3 – "Ті сміються, аж за боки беруться..."

Бурчати
ст. 200 – "... говорив басом, аж бурчало."

Вимовляти
ст. 228 – "Скрипка так і говорить аж вимовляє."
233 – "... грає, аж вимовляє."

Відпар
ст. 73 – "... сонце пригріло, потекли річки з землі, аж відпар пішов."

Вікно
ст. I6 – "... хропів, аж вікна дринчали."

Вітер
ст. I5I – "... потрясла, аж вітер віє."

Вогко
ст. I98 – "... в хаті стало, як у садочку... аж наче вогко."

Волосся
ст. 34 – "... тремтить, аж йому волосся їжиться..."
I58 – "І аж серце хлопцеві завмирало, аж волосся їжилось..."
I68 – "І втяли такого доскочистого, аж волосся їжиться."

Вухо
ст. 97 – "... там п'є-п'є, аж вухами ллється!"

В'язи
ст. I07 - "А все держить його за брижі, аж йому в'язи затерпли."

Ген-ген
ст. 33 - "І жди його аж ген-ген."

Гилля
ст. I50 - "... а там груші - рясота, аж гилля гнуться..."

Голка
ст. I66 - "Надворі мороз, аж голки скачуть..."

Голова
ст. I39 - "Схопив його в руки і аж головою струснув..."

Горіти
ст. I5 - "А кругом робота аж горить..."

Горло
ст. 83 - "Від сміху аж горло болить, і в грудях коле..."

Долівка
ст. I82 - "Вклонився... з таким подриґусом, аж долівку здер..."

Дрижаки
ст. I92 - "А в душі йому, як у Камчатці, аж дрижаки скачуть."

Д'якувати
ст. I82 - "... такий радий, що аж Богові д'якує..."

Живіт
ст. 66 - "... мені аж живіт запався... Пошукай но чого смачменького з'їсти..."

Забутися
ст. I95 - "... дивиться, аж забудеться."

Загусти
ст. I64 - "... черкнув тим об землю, аж загуло."

Заплакати
ст. II9 - "Колупнуло Антося за серце, аж заплакав."

Заторохтіти
ст. 205 - "...турнуть з прихода, аж заторохтить!"

Здригнутися
ст. 230 - "... плюнув, аж семінарія здригнулась..."

Зелений
ст. I2I - "На жодному не було свого образа: всі білі - аж зелені."

Земля
ст. I5 - "Як їхав, то коні аж землю рвуть копитами, а від коліс аж земля гуде!.."
207 - "...кров ллється, аж по землі стигне..."

Зідхнути
ст. II - "... аж зідхнеш, слухаючи."

Знати
ст. 78 - "... радіє, аж не знає, де сидить..."

Іскри
ст. 34 - "... аж іскри скачуть - так полетів за гуртом і собі на нартах."
II6 - "... усміхнувся, та не тим дитячим, щирим усміхом, що від нього аж іскри скачуть, а якось наче знехочу."
I80 - "Злий іде, аж іскри з очей скачуть: він же йому дасть!.."

Капати
ст. 24 - "А золота в церкві - аж капає..."

Кишки
ст. 46 - "Дай но чого перекусити, а то аж кишки сваряться..."

Луна
ст. I25 - "... ходить, аж луна йде..."
207 - "... ляснув по щокі, аж луна пішла..."

Лунати
ст. I88 - "... товче, аж лунає."

Ляснути
ст. 90 - "... щиро поцілував... аж ляснуло."

Мазка
ст. 207 - "... ляснув по щокі, аж луна пішла й мазка бідну обмила."

Млість
ст. I82 - "... в очах... аж наче млості б'ють."

Мова
ст. 85 - "... за серце стиснуло, аж мову замкнуло..."

Мороз
ст. I96 - "... дівчині аж наче якийсь мороз пішов поза плечі..."

Небо
ст. 43 - "І без того крику, аж в небі чути..."

Ніс
ст. 2I6 - "... дали ще по одному, що аж носом запоров у сінці."

Очі
ст. 40 - "Чого ти такий мізерний?... - аж очі позападали!"
I3I - "... дивиться, і йому аж очі забігали."
I48 - "... слізьми сприскувала аж її очі почервоніли."

Перепілка
ст. I96 - "Там дівчинка-зірка очі видивила, виглядаючи, - жде, не діждеться, аж змарніла перепілочка."

Плечі
ст. I4 - "... дивилась на нього на все око й аж плечима здвигнула..."

Побіліти
ст. 93 - "Скипів панич, аж побілів..."
37 - "... затрясся малюк... аж побілів..."

Покабутати
ст. I90 - "... турнув кріселечко, аж покабутало..."

Покачуватися
ст. 72 - "І регочуться, аж покачуються."

Полискуватися
ст. I48 - "Маніжка... вигладжена, аж полискується."

Посиніти
ст. I90 - 4... Антосьо виліз з-під лавки червоний, аж посинів..."

Підскочити
ст. II5 - "... з радістю... аж підскочивши..."

Прикипіти
ст. 75 - "... підрясник козубом став, аж до шкури прикипів."

Присісти
ст. II9 - "... розтягнуть і дадуть, аж не присядеш."

Проситися
ст. 67 - "А сонечко аж проситься до хати..."
I88 - "А тепло аж проситься в душу..."

Пухка
ст. I52 - "... катряги низькі будуються, а долівка там м'яка, аж пухка."

Рот
ст. 62 - "... слухав, аж рота роззявив."

Серце
ст. I58 - "І аж серце хлопцеві завмирало..."

Синець
ст. I6 - "І ну щипати лиця... А на лицях аж синці знати..."

Скипіти
ст. I96 - "А вона аж скипіла."

Сон
ст. 32 - "... і страху не раз набрався, аж крізь сон жахався..."

Сором
ст. 2I3 - "Бозна що вигадуєш, аж сором слухати."

Ставочок
ст. 67 - "Градом сльози покотились Масі з очей і річками по грудях текли, аж ставочок став на помості..."

Текти
ст. I3I - "... калюжі по всім столі, аж на землю тече..."
I92 - "... чуб йому мокрий, аж по лиці тече..."

Тріщати
ст. 2I6 - "... за вуха держать цупко й чуб аж тріщить."

Тямитися
ст. I23 - "... учився, аж не тямився."

Трястися
ст. 74 - "Ішов... аж трясся."
37 - "Аж затрясся малюк на цю звістку..."

Холоніти
ст. I88 - "... подумав, що заспав, і аж у душі йому похолонуло."

Цілувати
ст. 235 - "... Фоня аж у руку поцілував."

Чорти
ст. 88 - "Тото вилаю колись, аж чорти сміятимуться."

Шия
ст. "... дукачів та намисто на ній, аж шию гне."

Шкварчити
ст. I29 - "... сонце пекло, аж шкварчить..."

Язик
ст. 93 - "Богослов курив та й курив, аж язик йому затерп..."

Яр
ст. II8 - "... хльостає [різкою], аж яри в землі повибивав."

3. *Nače* Formula

Аршин
ст. I26 - "... важно-преважно поклонився, наче аршин проковтнув..."

Батько
ст. 2II - "... і той як гляне, то наче йому батька вбив: зразу переробиться з людини в ка-зна-що."

Бджола
ст. I66 - "... загуде, наче бджола, як у вулик стукнеш..."

Бити
ст. 4I - "І сльози котяться, наче били."

Біда
ст. I70 - "Всі наче на світ сердились наче в біду попались..."

Бог
ст. II - "... а на душі якось так легесенько, наче справді Бог тебе веде, а не ноги несуть."

Вбратися
ст. I60 - "... наче що вбралось, мовляв, межи воші та й гризуть."

Видувати
ст. I88 - "Ффф! - подумав Антосьо, наче страх видував..."

Вичитати
ст. II - "Як розкаже, було, що з давнини, то наче з книжки вичитує."

Вітер
ст. I48 - "... а чутка... наче її вітер розніс..."

Вода
ст. 70 - "... стала під грубою та й ні пари з губи, наче води в рот набрала."

Гній
ст. 25 - "Наче навмисне проти такої махини, як церква, ступнів тридцять удолину - наче купа гною."

Горох
ст. 76 - "... сльози... покапали на поміст, наче горохом посипав."

Гроші
си. I26 - "... сказав Антосьо хурманові з такою міною, наче там у нього казенні гроші або що..."

Губи
ст. I4 - "... балакає наче не те з губи вирвалось, що хотів сказати."
I28 - "Наче йому смолою губи заліпив, так Антосьо змовчав."

Гуси
ст. 204 - "... збили такий копіт, наче по хаті сто гусей літало."

Дзвіниця
ст. I2 - "Високо так намостили [бричку], що наче дзвіницю на колеса взяли..."

Дорога
ст. 84 - "Розбіглися за вами, то наче нам ноги попідрізувало, наче дороги позав'язувало."

Дух
ст. I90 - "... наче в нього другий дух вступив..."

Душа
ст. I53 - "... дивиться, наче душу свою випроваджує."

Живий
ст. 24 - "... і малювання дороге: святі, наче живі стоять."

Запалити
ст. I57 - "... сонце пекло, наче думало ввесь світ запалити."

Захолоніти
ст. I86 - "... і серце, що так тріпоталось, аж розпливалось, наче захолоне, замовкне й тільки - тьох! тьох!

Зварена
ст. 8 - "... сама не своя, наче зварена."

Зуб
ст. I9 - "Як стане роя збирати, то наче зуби з'їла в пасіці..."

Камінь
ст. 85 - "... сльози наче зав'язав, наче каменем їх приклав у грудях..."

Кат
ст. I69 - "... як увірве, то наче в ката вчився."

Коні
ст. 99 - "Піднявся такий стук, наче сто коней біжить..."

Крейда
ст. 85 - "... біла-біла, наче її хто крейдою витер."

Лапки
ст. I64 - "... долоні... пашіли наче в лапки грався..."

Лихо
ст. I9 - "А серце йому так і тьохкає, наче яке лихо віщує."

Лошата
ст. 27 - "Як чути тупіт, наче лошата біжать..."

Молотник
ст. I7 - "Які тепер [руки] погані, наче в молотника!"

Моравиця
ст. I6 - "А на лицях аж синці знати, наче моравиця повиступала."

Море
ст. 23I - "... наче пішов лист у море на дно."

Небо
ст. I53 - "... щасливим... наче його на небо несуть."

Ноги
ст. 84 - "Розбіглися за вами, то наче нам ноги попідрізувало..."

Перли
ст. I95 - "Як балакає, то наче перлами сипле..."

Перев'язати
ст. I88 - "... серце так занило, наче хто тонкою ниткою перев'язав або волосінню."

Пишатися
ст. 25 - "Стоїть собі дзвіниченька... наче пишається."

Приварити
ст. 37 - "... наче його хто оливом приварив..."

Прикипіти
ст. 37 - "Аж затрясся малюк на цю звістку, аж побілів і на хвилину наче прикипів доміста, наче його хто оливом приварив, та тільки ж на хвилину."

Припекти
ст. 37 - "Далі як схопиться, то наче його припік ззаду..."

Промолотитися
ст. I72 - "... їли з таким смаком, наче промолотились."

Різдво
ст. 73 - "... як зірветься завірюха й таке почнеться, наче до Різдва йде..."

Розум
ст. I29 - "... наче другий розум вступив йому в голову."

Сажа
ст. 79 - "... попід очі смуги, наче сажою повиводив..."

Світ
ст. 48 - "... наче на край світа в дорогу збирались."

Сердитися
ст. I70 - "Всі наче в світ сердились..."

Слабий
ст. 73 - "... надворі - сказано без пори - наче слабий сміється, а сонечко гріє, як мачуха голубить."

Сльози
ст. 85 - "... за серце стиснуло, аж мову замкнуло, і сльози наче зав'язав..."

Сніг
ст. 56 - "... пішов на Басарабію й слід загубив, наче снігом замело."

Солоний
ст. I8I - "... Антосьо наче не солоний: і не спиться, і не лежиться; ні йти, ні сидіти..."

Сон
ст. I48 - "... чутка... наче її вітер розніс, наче її сном навіяло."

Ступінь
ст. 2II - "... йде виступці, наче його ступінь по червінцю..."

Текти
ст. 24 - "... як це золото, наче тече, капає..."

Теля
ст. II - "... мимрить-мимрить, наче теля ремінь жвакає, та ще й на московське..."

Ховати
ст. I0 - "Поминай тоді, як звали: наче батька ховають."

Череда
ст. 7I - "А старші [ляшки] хвостами дороги метуть, що наче череда йде, такий копіт зіб'ють..."

Чорт
ст. 29 - "... то наче ззаду чорт доганяє - так помишкаєш."

Шкаралупа
ст. I70 - "Душа... наче в шкаралупі, як курча в яйці."

Шпиталь
ст. 26 - "... наче в шпиталі, кругом стоять ліжка..."

4. *Mov* Formula

Вив'язати
ст. I57 - "... посипались, мов з рукава їх вив'язав..."

Вітер
ст. I8I - "... зникла, мов її вітер поніс до хати."
I96 - "... дівчині... мов би вітер повіяв у грудях, і серце тьохнуло."

Дівчина
ст. 2I4 - "... місяць... за хмару заховається... мов сором'язлива дівчина рукавом закривається."

Ждати
ст. 90 - "Всі мовчали, дивились, мов би ждуть якого змилування Божого."

Кіт
ст. 5I - "... в очах світилось щось котячого, мов би так і кинеться, як кіт на мишку."

Клоччя
ст. 228 - "... сльози самі ллються, мов би там під лобом хто мокре клоччя здушить..."

Кра́стися
ст. I88 - "... оглядається, мов крадеться від собак..."

Мова
ст. I84 - "... на кінці язика задержиться, мов би йому мову замкне, тільки серце б'ється-б'ється!"

Ноги
ст. I83 - "... пішов... мов би самі ноги несуть."

Озеро
ст. 65 - "... сльозі самі ллються, мов би їх там повні озера в запасі було."

Полетіти
ст. I96 - "Мов би на крилах полетів Антосьо додому..."

Полова
ст. I86 - "... все пройде, мов би не туга на серці, а полова поналипала."

Шапка
ст. 222 - "... гілля на вершку, мов шапка на дручку."

Шляхтянка
ст. 23I - "... йшла мов би шляхтянка, постогнуючи..."

5. *Ščo* Formula

(a) Approximating the *jak* formula:

Віл
ст. II8 - "... хлопець, що той чорний віл, лиш боками поведе, як його штовхнуть."

Журавель
ст. I48 - "Між усіма Антосьо дибав, що той журавель..."

Зоря
ст. I46 - "От вийшла Мася, що зоря зійшла."

I55 – "... а в душі йому Галя, що та зірочка, сяє."

Курка
ст. I99 – "... не бійтесь, не знайшлося б другої такої, як ви, щоб носилась з ним, що курка з яйцем."

Лещата
ст. 85 – "... і таки мав серце хлоп'яче, що й в лещатах пищить."

Мурашня
ст. I56 – "... де місця стало, люди, що та мурашня, купки собі понагоратала й живуть."

Сонце
ст. II – "А в громаду вийде, що ясне сонце – високо-високо: як не вклонись, не догледить."

(b) Resembling the *až* formula:

Біль
ст. 2I8 – "... замліла, що вже й болю не чула..."

Ведмідь
ст. 2I6 – "Відділились з гурту два, що й ведмедя побороли б..."

Викрутитися
ст. 99 – "... і був там один... швидкий та верткий, що й з-під ступиря викрутиться."

Вовк
ст. I66 – "Та таки уряд там держить себе, що легше до скаженого вовка приступити..."

Гидко
ст. I60 – "... таке нечвидне, що й глянути гидко..."

Голка
ст. I48 – "... гостей настягається, що й голці не впасти."

Голова
ст. 72 – "... так примаслиться, що й сто голов май, – не вгадаєш, що в ньому кипить."

Догнати
ст. 82 – "... він чкурнув, що й з хортами не доженеш."

Донести
ст. 205 – "От зачепи, то й тобі достанеться, що й додому не донесеш, та й по дорозі не розгубиш."

Камінний
ст. 228 - "... так голосити, що й камінний заплакав би."

Комин
ст. 26 - "... зелена пляшка - та ще давня, що й у комин не розіб'ється... що то давнина!"

Коні
ст. 37 - "... так виїхав, що не дав і коням гаразд перепочити."

Копійка
ст. І02 - "Батьки в поповичів народ все скупенький, що душать копійчину..."

Крижі
ст. 8 - "... й так почастував оту звірину, що бідолашна й крижі за собою поволокла."

Кулак
ст. 222 - "... з-під верби джерело било, що й кулаком не заткати."

Куц
ст. 96 - "Моліться, - може дасть Бог, що й куца вивезе."

Небо
ст. І84 - ... глянула на нього таким оком, що лучче самого неба..."

Ніс
ст. 67 - "... піде гразюка, що ні ти, ні я на двір і носа не покажемо."

Приступати
ст. І79-80 - "... з тієї ляхівка та така, що з голими руками не приступай..."

Розпізнати
ст. 204 - "... вже не Орися ходила, а тінь її ходила, що на лаву, та руки зложи, то від мерця не розпізнаєш."

Сила
ст. 207 - "... розведе руки, що сила стає..."

Сісти
ст. І37 - "... повну бричку, що й сісти ніде було."

Сльоза
ст. 42 - "... такого стусана дав, що так і облилась сльозами."

Сокира
ст. 83 - "... вміли вони в таку шкуру вбратись, як черепаха, що й сокирою до живого не доколупаєшся!"

Спинок
ст. I28 - "Е, як та вода на потоках бурлить, що ні спинку, ні гаманцю не має..."

Шкура
ст. IOI - ... такою шкорбою стала, що як би не шкура, то й кістки розсипались би..."

(c) Special phrases.

Ну
ст. 2I2 - "... дощ ушкварив такий, що ну!"
I77 - "... дикарем таким, що ну."

Куди
ст. 85 - "... розболілась голова, що куди..."
I29 - "... тихий, смирний, що куди."
I40 - "... такий гомін піднявся, що куди-куди!"
I44 - "Такий гарний, що куди!"
I77 - "... зазнайко такий, що куди-куди!"
I77 - "... став хлопцем хоч куди..."

Годі
ст. I6I - "Радіємо так, що годі."

Сказати
ст. 80 - "... якийсь вогонь в них [в очах] зайнявся, - такий вогонь, що й не сказати."
85 - "Антосьо тільки побивався, що й не сказати."
227 - "Це таке ледащо, що й не сказати..."

6. Instrumental Formula

Град
ст. 67 - "Градом сльози покотились Масі з очей..."

Карлючка
ст. 9 - "... ніс йому карлючкою..."

Килим
ст. I83 - "А перед очима Куліківка зеленим та квітчастим килимом розіслалась..."

Кістка
ст. 52 - "Запорожжя панам кісткою в горлі сіло."

Козак
ст. I66 - "От і зажив собі Антосьо вільним козаком та ще й весело."

Козуб
ст. 75 - "Поки до санок дійшов, підрясник козубом став..."

Миля
ст. 38 - "Одна верства зосталась і здалась йому милею..."

Річка
ст. 67 - "Градом сльози покотились Масі з очей і річками по грудях текли..."
235 - "... сльози річками потекли..."

Сирота
ст. 38 - "... будяк стояв сиротою... один я, один зостався сіромаха!"

Стовп
ст. I73 - "... дим стовпом стоїть..."

Удівець
ст. I67 - "... сам з голими руками вирушав [без скрипки], - удівцем, мовляв сам."

7. *Xoč* Formula

Викрутити
ст. 227-28 - "... пішов до шинку й вернувсь аж увечорі - мокрий, хоч викрути..."

Втікати
ст. 78 - "... як заслабне, то хоч із світа втікай: і з одним непорадна година, а з двома й не кажи."

Коза
ст. 2I9 - "... а йому, трохи молодшому за світ, хоч коза з вовком вінчайся."

Леп
ст. 26 - "На столі лепу, хоч ріпу сій."

Молоти
ст. 2I9 - "Дяк ньокає та пугою поводить, - тонка ж бо була: хоч ячмінь молоти..."

Наплакати
ст. 32 - "Та плач, хоч і цілий океан-море наплач, а лиха не обійдеш, ні об'їдеш."

Повиносити
ст. 66 - "... спали як побиті, хоч повинось їх: діти, сказано, діти..."

Просити
ст. 4I - "... ніколи нічого не розкажу, хоч проси й розсядься."

Рушник
ст. 79 - "... дівчина на всю губу, хоч зараз на рушник ставай..."

Сльози
ст. 76 - "... не вернеться, що минулось, хоч хай сльози ллються, як Буг тече."

Сокира
ст. IO2 - "... старші... вуса мали, хоч сокирою теши..."

VITA

NAME: Brian Duane (Demjan) Hohol'

PLACE OF BIRTH: Edmonton, Alberta

YEAR OF BIRTH: 1956

POST-SECONDARY EDUCATION AND DEGREES:

University of Alberta
Edmonton, Alberta
1973-1977 B.A. (Hon.)

University of Alberta
Edmonton, Alberta
1977-1978

St. Andrew's College
Winnipeg, Manitoba
1978-1980

University of Alberta
Edmonton, Alberta
1980-1982 M.A.

HONOURS AND AWARDS:

Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies
Undergraduate Scholarship
University of Alberta
1976

Samuel Woloshyn Memorial Summer Award
University of Alberta
1977

Province of Alberta Scholarship
University of Alberta
1977

Province of Alberta Graduate Scholarship
University of Alberta
1978

Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies
Masters Thesis Fellowship
University of Alberta
1981-1982

RELATED WORK EXPERIENCE:

Research Assistant
University of Alberta
1977-1978

Teaching Assistant
University of Alberta
1980-1981